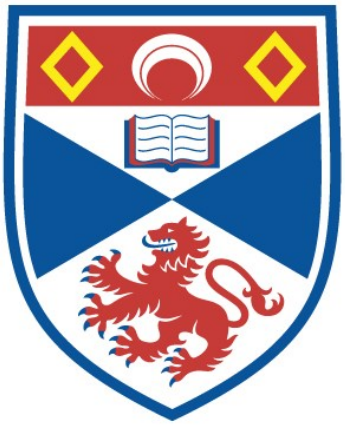
A STUDY OF THE MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN VERSNOVELLE : MORIZ VON CRAÛN WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ITS LITERARY AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND

Ruth Charlotte Harvey

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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A study of

the Middle High German Versnovelle

MORIZ VON CRAÛN

with special reference to

its literary and cultural background

A Thesis presented by

RUTH CHARLOTTE HARVEY

to the University of St Andrews

in application for the degree of Ph.D.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the following Thesis is based on the results of research carried out by me, that the Thesis is my own composition, and that it has not previously been presented for a Higher Degree. The research was carried out in the Universities of St Andrews and Oxford.

. . . . . .

CERTIFICATE

I certify that Ruth Charlotte Harvey has spent . . . terms at Research work in the University of St Andrews, that she has fulfilled the conditions of Ordinance No. 16 (St Andrews), and that she is qualified to submit the accompanying Thesis in application for the degree of Ph.D.

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(Professor)

CAREER

I graduated in Modern Languages at Somerville College, Oxford, in 1938, proceeding to the degree of M.A. (Oxon.) in 1942. In October 1950 I was appointed Lecturer in German at St Salvator's College, St Andrews University, which post I held till I joined the staff of St Anne's College, Oxford, as Lecturer in German in January 1959. The Research which is now submitted as a Ph.D. Thesis was begun in 1950.

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FORWORD

No edition of Moriz von Craûn proved to be ideally suited to the purposes of the present study. Schroeder's text, the only one available when the work was begun, is in some respects out of date, and the new text of Professor Ulrich Pretzel has in many places been so radically modified by emendation of the MS. readings, by changes in the order of the lines and by excision of passages felt to be later interpolations, that it was not a wholly satisfactory basis for an approach along more traditional lines. It was accordingly judged more convenient to abide by Schroeder's version of the text, from the last (1929) edition of which all references in the following pages are taken.

It is a pleasure to record my gratitude to Professor C.T.Carr of St Andrews University for his constant help and encouragement since the inception of the work, and to Professor Pretzel of Hamburg University for his friendly and stimulating interest in the efforts of a fellow-enthusiast whose aims and conclusions nevertheless differed in so many respects from his own. My warmest thanks are also due to Professor R.C.Johnston of St Andrews and Dr J.Knight Bostock of Oxford, who read the manuscript and made many valuable suggestions; to the Photographic Department

of the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, who prepared for me a photostatic reproduction of the MS.; to the Photographic Departments of the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum for the two reproductions included in the Appendix; to Mr Philip Grierson, F.B.A., of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, who solved for me the problem of the "Bavarian shilling"; and to the many friends and colleagues at St Andrews, Oxford, and elsewhere, who satisfied my importunate demands for information or proffered helpful advice.

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

"Maurice de Craon - une des énigmes littéraires les plus curieuses du moyen âge allemand."[1]

Among the minor literary productions of the chivalric age in Germany, few can have provoked such widely divergent speculation as Moriz von Craûn. Not that the work has ever been in the forefront of debate - on the contrary it has been if anything unjustly neglected - but its whole character is such as to invite controversy.

The unique MS.[2] in which it has come down to us dates from the early years of the sixteenth century, and its readings are in many places obscure if not actually corrupt. How these obscurities and corruptions arose we can only guess, since we know nothing whatsoever of the various stages of transmission through which the text may have passed in order

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1. A. Moret, Poèmes et Fabliaux du moyen âge allemand (Paris 1939), p. 193.

2. The celebrated parchment codex popularly known as the "Ambraser Heldenbuch" now No. 118 (formerly No. 73) in the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, which was written for the Emperor Maximilian I by his secretary Hans Ried of Bozen. Since Moriz von Craûn comes near the beginning of the MS. (fols. II^{v} - V^{v}), we can assume that it was written down in, or shortly after, the year 1504.

to reach its final form. For the rest, the history of the poem is a total blank. In its own day it seems to have met with little success, and no allusion to it is discoverable anywhere in contemporary or later sources. The identity of the author is, and doubtless will remain, a complete mystery.[1] The date of composition is much disputed - some scholars placing it as early as 1180,[2] others as late as 1220.[3] The very title of the work has been the occasion of disagreement.[4]

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1. R.M. Meyer (ZfdA. 39, 1895, pp. 305ff.) advanced the view that our poem formed part of the lost Umbehang of Bligger von Steinach mentioned by Gottfried von Strassburg in Tristan 4709ff. Though not impossible, this theory is very doubtful and has never found general acceptance.

2. H. de Boor, Die höfische Literatur (de Boor-Newald, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, Vol. 2, Munich 1952), pp. 145-50.

3. G. Ehrismann, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters II, 2, 1 (Munich 1927), pp. 127-32.

4. The superscription in the MS. refers only to a single episode from the introductory section: Von kunig Nero ainem Weŭttrich, der auch wie ein Fraw Swanger wolt sein. Vnd sein Mŭeter aufschneiden liesse, von seins fürbitz. Even in the list of contents the historical introduction bulks far larger than the principal theme, which is dismissed with a single phrase: Vnnd wie Mauritius von Krawn liebet die Gräfin von Beamundt. In the earliest edition of the poem by H.F. Massmann (v.d. Hagens Germania 9, Berlin 1850, pp. 103ff.) it was given the rather misleading title Maurizius und Beamunt (or, more fully, Ritter Mauritius von Brun - a misreading for Craûn - und Gräfinn Beamundt). M. Haupt, Festgaben für Gustav Homeyer (Berlin 1879), pp. 27ff., was the first to use the title Moriz von Craon, or Craûn, which is now universally accepted. What the poem was originally called we shall, of course, never know.

Yet if the text as we have it is beset with difficulties, the question of its origin and derivation is even more problematic. It is certainly based on a French source of some kind; but since this has not survived, we have no means of making the direct comparison which alone would enable us to tell precisely how far the German version is a faithful reflection of the original, and how far it has been expanded or modified or possibly transformed altogether in the process of adjustment to new aims and ideas. We have, it is true, a French poem - the so-called fabliau Du chevalier qui recovra l'amor de sa dame[1] - which is obviously related to this lost source, but as the exact nature of the relationship is itself to a great extent a matter of guesswork, the existence of a cognate text only creates additional problems.

Small wonder therefore that every student of Moris von Craûn, whatever direction he chooses for his approach, soon finds himself groping his way through a maze of conjecture in which no two paths coincide. Even to the single eye it does not present a consistent and unvarying aspect, but changes colour when viewed from different angles, as though possessed of some elusive iridescence of its own.

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1. A. de Montaiglon and G. Raynaud, Recueil général et complet des fabliaux des XIIIe et XIVe siècles (Paris 1872-90), Vol. VI, pp. 138ff.

In one respect only are all the critics unanimous - the work is quite unlike anything else in the whole range of Middle High German literature. Again and again this point is emphasized:- "ein rätselhaftes Werk",[1] "ein merkwürdig einsames Werk",[2] "ein Gedicht ..., das unter den mhd. Epen eine ganz eigenartige Stellung einnimmt",[3] "eine eigenartige Rittermäre ... Sie steht ... allein, ohne Vorbild und Nachfolge",[4] "die kleine Verserzählung Moriz von Craûn verlangt durch ihre eigentümliche Stellung innerhalb der höfischen Epik Deutschlands eine eigene Behandlung neben den grossen Klassikern. Ihre Einordnung hat stets Mühe gemacht. Er (Moriz von Craûn) ist ein Einzelgänger, und als solcher stellt er uns vor allerhand Rätsel",[5] "Hier ist die Hauptfrage mit anderen in so eigentümlicher Weise verwickelt, dass dies Gedicht ... noch recht viel zu raten aufgibt, nicht bloss für die Lesung und Deutung einzelner Stellen, sondern für das Wesentlichste".[6] Such quotations are typical of

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1. Hugo Kuhn, H.O. Burgers Annalen der deutschen Literatur (Stuttgart 1952), p. 172.
2. H. de Boor, loc. cit., p. 150.
3. R.M. Meyer, op. cit., p. 310.
4. W. Golther, Die deutsche Dichtung im Mittelalter (Stuttgart 1922), p. 267.
5. H. de Boor, loc. cit., pp. 145f.
6. G. Rosenhagen, "Deutsches und Französisches in der mhd. Märe 'Moriz von Craûn' (Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift II, 1924, pp. 795ff.), p. 796.

the attitude shared by all who have had occasion to study the text and to pass final judgement on it.

Nevertheless, though all are agreed that it stands quite alone in medieval German literature, the how and the why of its singularity are rather harder to account for. Up to a point, of course, they defy explanation. The enigma remains an enigma, let the investigator do what he will. Nor can one hope to solve the problem by interpreting an isolated achievement in isolation. Only when it is placed in a wider setting can it be seen in its true perspective, and this is especially necessary when dealing with a work like Moriz von Craûn in which not merely different creative impulses, but different national traditions meet and mingle.

All the way through the poem we are conscious of a clash between two conflicting temperaments, the one superimposed on the other. The great masters of courtly literature in Germany, who were likewise working from foreign sources, dominated their borrowed material so completely that they could re-mould it at will to suit their own ends. The author of Moriz von Craûn has not succeeded in attaining anything like so complete or so harmonious a fusion, and here the two trends of outlook continue to exist side by side, never wholly reconciled and often directly at variance with each

other. This fact goes some way to account for certain basic inconsistencies apparent in the work, such as the curious unevenness of mood and tempo, which ranges from the leisurely, serious, reflective tone of the historical introduction or the discourse on love to the rollicking pace and lively visual realism of the later scenes. Sometimes, we feel, the approach is quintessentially German; elsewhere both the spirit and even the actual wording of the original French source can be sensed so close beneath the surface that only a slight effort is needed to uncover them. Small wonder, then, that Moriz von Craûn should strike an alien note in German literature when its affinities lie in so many respects outside Germany.

But apart from this strong French element, there is another equally important reason why the poem refuses to fit into any of the accepted categories of Middle High German literature; it is the work of a poet who was himself, to use de Boor's expression, an "Einzelgänger", and fundamentally untypical of his kind. Though born into the chivalric age, though doubtless acquainted with chivalric culture at first hand, though passionately interested in everything that pertained to the knightly way of life, its evolution, its articles of faith, its moral implications, he gives the impression of

being altogether out of touch with his own times, partly because he lags so far behind his contemporaries, partly because he is already so far ahead of them. More than once this paradox has been remarked by the critics. R.M. Meyer calls the poem "eins der ältesten und doch moderner anmutend als irgend ein anderes",[1] G. Baesecke uses very similar words when he says that Moriz von Craûn is "zugleich archaischer und moderner als Reinhart Fuchs",[2] H. Schneider sums the matter up when he states: "uns scheint Moriz von Craûn ... zwei Gesichter zu haben, nach vorwärts zu blicken und nach rückwärts".[3]

In some ways the poet undeniably does look backward to the pre-courtly period. His literary tastes are somewhat antiquated, and though he may well have encountered the writings of the leading authors of his own day, all his allusions are drawn from works which belong to the previous generation - the Kaiserchronik, the tale of Troy, the tale of Alexander, the legend of St. Brandan, the poems of Heinrich

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1. R.M. Meyer, op. cit., p. 310.
2. G. Baesecke, "Heinrich der Glichesaere" (ZfdPh., 52, 1927, pp. 15ff), p. 17.
3. H. Schneider, Heldendichtung, Geistlichendichtung, Ritterdichtung (Heidelberg 1943), p. 273.

von Veldeke. Arthurian romance does not seem to exist as far as he is concerned; for him the history of chivalry stops short with Charlemagne and his paladins. His view of chivalric ethics too, however far it may have corresponded to real life, is considerably less sophisticated than that embodied in the fashionable literature of the time. Honour is for him not so much the quixotry of the knight-errant as a masculine pride which, in individuals and nations alike, finds its fullest expression in military conquest. Love is an affair of mutual obligation in which the claims of the man must if necessary take precedence over those of the woman, as the countess is at length forced to admit: ich wânde daz der wîbe strît / se rehte vor solte gân. / dâ von ich disen schaden hân (1762ff.).

In other ways his outlook is extraordinarily advanced. He is not the representative of a group, still less the spokesman of society at large. On the contrary he is, like his hero, very conscious of his own individuality and, like his hero, he is prepared to assert his freedom to the extent of defying social convention. He approaches the doctrines of chivalry in a spirit so independent as to be almost heretical. His opinions are not simply the stylised patterns of belief imposed by the accepted creed of knighthood, they are convictions born of personal observation and reflection, and

directed not only against his audience (ir sult wizzen daz für wâr 328, swer minnet unde sinne hât / den wil ich geben einen rât 341f., ich möhte iu vil hin abe sagen 359, etc.), but against himself (des wânde ouch ich ê ich wiste / daz daz niht wol wesen mac 312f., daz selbe spriche ich an mich 397). This honesty of vision prevents him from retreating into that Never-Never-Land of romantic illusion where so many of his contemporaries sought refuge from the harsh world of facts. Above all, it compels him to recognize that in chivalric life theory and practice do not, and cannot, go hand in hand. Though the principles of knighthood still claim his unconditional allegiance as ideals, he sees clearly their dangers and shortcomings when they are brought down to the level of everyday reality with all its limitations and imperfections. Indeed in a sense the whole purpose of the poem is to show how the gulf between the relativity of human conduct and the absolutism of chivalric aspiration creates a tension which is fraught with possibilities of disaster even for those who might be forgiven for regarding their virtue as unassailable.

Looking back after the event we can see how prophetic his insight was. Because of this very inability to come to terms with reality, chivalric culture carried within itself the seeds of its own destruction. But at the time, inevitably, the message went unheard. The early thirteenth century disliked and mistrusted the individualist, the "Einzelgänger", in literature as in life, and the work together with its author was relegated to obscurity. Only at the very close of the Middle Ages did it come in some way to the notice of a man who was himself to a quite unique degree caught up in the conflict between the absolute values of medieval thought and the relative values of the modern world, and in the mind of Maximilian I it found at last an appreciative echo - so much so that he had it given pride of place in a major anthology of literary documents.

We today regard it with rather different eyes. Questions which still retained some of their urgency for the early sixteenth century have now become remote and academic. We are no longer, like Maximilian, poised between the two worlds of thought which in Moriz von Craûn are already beginning to contend for mastery; and though the poem turns on a moral issue which is still a basic factor in any interpretation of human society - in essence, the perennial conflict

between the disruptive force of free self-determination and the centralizing force of collective persuasion - it is an issue no longer relevant for us in this particular form. But if the modern reader sees the work from a greater distance and with a greater detachment, he does not find it any the less attractive on that account, and the reasons for its attractiveness are still precisely those which caused it to be neglected in its own day.[1]

In the first place, there is its very complexity and elusiveness. It has passed through so many stages of development, it has absorbed so many disparate elements, it has been moulded by such varying mentalities, that within its small compass it is a positive bundle of contradictions. People in the Middle Ages were on the whole repelled by what was confusing and ambiguous. As they admired single-mindedness, harmony of purpose, stability, constancy, everything implied in the term staete, so they had a horror of zwivel, the divided mind, the magpie black and white denounced by

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1. Ingeborg Dubs, in her study of one of the French romans d'aventure (Galeran de Bretagne, Bern 1949, pp. 171f.) expresses this idea in words which might with equal truth be applied to Moriz von Craûn: "Die für das Mittelalter ... ungewohnte psychologische Motivierung und Relativierung dieses psychologischen Romans, welche möglicherweise dem mittelalterlichen Leser, der die Absolutheit sucht, missfiel, hinterlässt beim modernen Leser einen unauslöschlichen Eindruck."

Wolfram von Eschenbach in the well-known opening lines of Parzival. It is therefore hardly surprising that they rejected a work like Moriz von Craûn which is, to use Wolfram's image, so parrieret that it too might almost be said to possess a split personality. For us, on the other hand, there is a powerful fascination in literary riddles of this kind; like the psychological puzzles which the modern age also finds so enthralling, they may yield up some part of their mystery to scientific analysis or intuitive speculation, but their final solution remains for ever tantalizingly out of reach.

In the second place, Moriz von Craûn gives the impression of being extraordinarily true to life. Judged by the standards of its own day, this likewise was a defect rather than a virtue. The writer of chivalric fiction could inspire and educate his hearers by portraying things as he felt they ought to be, or he could provide entertainment and escape by portraying things as his audience would like them to be; but there was neither pleasure nor profit to be derived from portraying things as they actually were. For Maximilian also, we may guess, this type of accuracy would be no more than a secondary consideration. It enabled the moral drama to be played out against a more solidly convincing background of fact and sentiment. Doubtless it afforded him in addition

a certain nostalgic pleasure by the picturesque manner in which it evoked the atmosphere of chivalry as it had been in its splendid heyday three centuries earlier. But there is no reason to suppose that he regarded truthfulness to life as particularly significant or desirable in itself.

We for our part welcome with eagerness any document that promises to bring us into closer contact with medieval actuality any evidence that may reveal, however fleetingly and imperfectly, those realities of chivalric thought and feeling and action which are normally hidden from our view by a haze of poetic romance. And Moriz von Craûn is one of the few works of its time which possesses, in both the outward and the inward sense of that much-disputed term, the quality of realism.

Superficially speaking, it is realistic by virtue of its wealth of concrete detail. Over and over again our attention is caught by some illuminating turn of phrase, some graphic touch of description, some arresting image, some quirk of humour or irony, which affords us a sudden flash of insight into the life and manners of the time.

In addition - a much rarer trait - it displays what one might call an inner realism of thought. There is no softening or evading of the issues. The action proceeds with a

rational logic of cause and effect. The characters are placed squarely before the choice on which their fate depends, and their changing emotions - longing, joy, excitement, hesitation, pride, anger, regret - are not suggested in some oblique or formalized manner, but set down plainly and directly. Only on ground where the analysis of sentiment had already been reduced to a set of stereotyped formulae, as in the hero's monologue on love, do we hear the accents of fashionable convention rather than the accents of immediate truth.

It is this psychological candour which strikes the modern reader as so startlingly unmedieval. In Maximilian's day the poem was "modern" by the nature of the theme; for us its modernity lies rather in the poet's attitude to his theme. For all his anonymity he remains unmistakably a person, speaking in his own name and of his own free will. On the highest plane of genius this personal approach is inevitable; men like Wolfram or Gottfried could not, even if they wished to, submerge their individuality in the common outlook. But here, as nowhere else in the literature of the courtly period in Germany, we are aware of a voice from the lower levels, one might almost say from the rank and file, of chivalry disclosing the private reactions of one

man to the problems of knighthood - not a poet of commanding stature, not a profound thinker, not even a particularly talented literary artist, but a man with a standpoint of his own and the will to express it. This is the quality which above all others gives the poem its peculiar appeal today and endows it with a charm that goes beyond the intellectual fascination of the riddle. It is, as R.M. Meyer truly says, "ein Gedicht, das wohl jedem seiner Leser lieb und interessant geworden ist"[1] - a poem which engages not only the interest but also the affection of all who make its acquaintance.

The following study does not claim to be an exhaustive discussion of Moriz von Craûn. It merely seeks to determine more accurately the proper place of the text in Middle High German literature by considering in detail two particular aspects of the problem.

On the one hand it is an attempt to unravel and identify the different strands that compose the fabric of the work, and so to reduce the jumble of discrepancies and contradictions to some recognisable order of design. Or, to use the metaphor of another critic, it is "ein Versuch, das Nebeneinander widerspruchsvoller Züge, gleichsam durcheinander

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1. R.M. Meyer, op. cit., p. 324.

rauschender Sprachklänge, in ein Nacheinander klar vernehmlicher Stimmen auseinander zu hören".[1] With this object in view, an endeavour has been made to trace the progressive expansion of the subject-matter through the various layers of additional material that have gathered round the original core of substance; and further, to disentangle and as far as possible to explain, the diversities of form and style, aim and treatment, feeling and spirit, which mark the successive stages in the process of amplification. In the main, this resolves itself into the question of distinguishing the French substratum from the German accretions, and in order to get a clearer picture of the source, the poem has been brought into much closer comparison with the corresponding literature of France than has hitherto been the case. But it must also be remembered that the French source itself may have been, and in all likelihood was, a composite growth with its own history of evolution.

On the other hand the text has been examined in the light of its twofold realism of description and thought, in order to discover how faithfully it mirrors the outward life of the age of chivalry and how far it can also be taken as a

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1. G. Rosenhagen, op. cit., p. 815.

reliable guide to the inward life, the habits of mind, of which these external manifestations are at once the product and the reflection. In a sense this question is linked with the first one. While it would be a drastic over-simplification of the case to assert that the visual realism has been derived from the source and that the psychological realism is a German development, the balance of probability tends on the whole to point in that direction. Nevertheless, a much wider range of evidence is needed to test the accuracy of the poem and to this end it has been placed in the fullest possible context of literary and social history.

In the absence of any parallel text in Middle High German literature that would afford us a basis for direct comparison it is only by such means as these that we can hope to arrive at a just estimate of the German poet's achievement. Among the many voices which blend together in the work his voice inevitably dominates all the rest. Yet if we fail to hear it in its true setting, or if we allow it to drown those fainter, but still significant, undertones that speak to us of a different tradition of nationality and language and poetry, we shall be unable to appreciate either its intrinsic character or the nature of the message it is seeking to communicate. And in both cases the loss will be ours.

Chapter Two

THE EVOLUTION OF THE THEME

Though a work so involved as Moriz von Craûn can be approached from any number of angles, it is probably simplest to begin with the question of the subject-matter which, in spite of its many puzzling features, still remains on the whole the most solidly factual and hence the most easily accessible aspect of the poem. We have already seen that in content, as in form, Moriz von Craûn is not an organic unity but a composite growth which has only gradually assumed its final shape. The successive stages in the process of evolution can still for the most part be distinguished, for each in turn is marked by a fresh deposit of material superimposed on what has gone before. This amplification is not, as so often in the post-classical literature of the courtly period, a stringing together of disjointed episodes or an aimless multiplying of secondary detail in order to prolong the action at all costs. Although the compass of the poem becomes steadily larger, it is a controlled and (with the possible exception of the historical introduction and the excursus on love) a balanced expansion in which the various parts are kept in relation to each other and to the

basic structural plan of the whole. In other words, the essential pattern of Moriz von Craûn is not a string of beads loosely held together by a single thread, nor even a set of connected links in a chain, but rather a series of concentric circles like the widening ripples across the surface of water into which a stone has been thrown. Each new addition grows directly out of its predecessor, and each in its turn contains further possibilities of development; but all converge ultimately on one central concept which forms the nucleus of the total design.

It would perhaps be well to summarize very briefly the contents of the work as a whole before examining in detail its various component parts. Moriz von Craûn opens with a long prologue in which the history of chivalry is traced from Troy down to the France of the poet's own day (1-263). The hero and his liege lady, the countess of Beaumont, are then introduced (263-288), and the poet profits from the occasion to give an elaborate exposition of his own theories about courtly love in general, with Moris himself as a model illustration of these principles (289-416). The action proper begins in line 417 with the hero lying sleepless one night debating within himself whether his loyalty and devotion to his lady are truly worth while, since they have hitherto gone unrequited; finally he resolves to approach the countess in

person and put his fortunes to the test for life or death (417-523). When he comes into her presence the interview between the two begins with a lively passage of stichomythic dialogue in which the knight protests his lovesick plight while the lady shows herself coquettishly teasing (524-558). At length Moris urges his suit openly, begging her to show some mercy to her faithful servant and confer on him the reward to which all his hopes and endeavours are directed (559-574). The lady, somewhat reluctantly, agrees to do this (575-590); she accepts Moris formally as her chosen knight, requesting him as a final proof of his love to organise for her a tournament in which he will take part as her champion and promising him her favours as the prize of valour (591-603). Moris consents joyfully and the countess seals the bargain with a ring, a kiss and an embrace (604-620).

At once preparations for the tournament are begun. Moris sends out messengers far and wide to proclaim the news (621-624), and himself commissions a costly and elaborate machine for the occasion, consisting of a ship on wheels, drawn by horses concealed under hangings of scarlet cloth and manned by a crew of liveried "sailors" (627-696). When the appointed day draws near, Moris embarks with all his equipment, and the ship-car sets out across the countryside followed by a crowd of admiring spectators (697-754). His arrival before the countess' castle causes an even greater

sensation (755-761). He "drops anchor" in a meadow and sets up a superb tent in which he offers lavish hospitality to all comers, especially to the minstrels who have flocked to see the show (762-810). In the morning the knights who are to participate in the tourney assemble at the tent and, after hearing Mass, are entertained to breakfast (811-821). When they have all dispersed to arm themselves, Moriz likewise snatches a few moments of leisure to put on his body-armour (822-848). That done, he takes up his position on the deck of the ship, orders his best charger to be brought on board, the eight reserve horses being stationed on a near-by hillock, and has the ship steered to the foot of the castle wall, so that his exploits can be personally witnessed by the countess who is watching from a turret window in a state of extreme pleasure and excitement (849-890). Here Moriz takes up his final stance, and the tournament starts with a preliminary contest in which the countess' husband has the misfortune to kill a knight accidentally in the press of the mêlée (891-906). At once the count retires from the field in great distress (907-917), but Moriz, contrary to the normal rules of knightly etiquette, insists that the tournament shall continue regardless of this misadventure, and the other knights eagerly assent (918-934). The combat is resumed with greater zest than before, and Moriz, who up

till now has been merely an onlooker, prepares for a spectacular entrance into the fray (935-982). When all is ready he charges into the thickest of the fighting, unhorses ten opponents in rapid succession, breaks a prodigious quantity of lances, performs various gestures of generosity, and is acclaimed on all hands as the hero of the day (983-1024).

After the tourney has come to an end Moris retires to his tent and prepares to distribute largesse (1025-1039). The ship itself is broken up and shared out among the squires and attendants (1040-1060). Moris gives away his hauberk to a captive knight and tries to give away his chausses as well (1061-73). He has just unbuckled one of the chausses when a messenger arrives from the countess to summon him to the tryst (1074-1091). He accompanies the messenger to a garden where he is welcomed by a waiting-woman and escorted to a richly adorned bower in which stands a magnificent bed (1092-1172). Moris and the <u>juncfrouwe</u> converse together for a time, and the latter explains that the lady is delayed in coming because her husband is still too prostrate with grief over his mishap in the tournament for her to be able to leave his side (1173-1212). Moris, angry that the lady should consider her husband's interests before those of her lover, vexed by the delay and fatigued by his exertions, at length falls asleep, trusting to the promise of the waiting-woman

to wake him in time when the countess arrives (1213-1253). However, the countess steals upon them so quickly and silently that there is no time to rouse him, and he is accordingly discovered by the lady asleep at the rendez-vous (1254-1263). A long dialogue ensues between the countess and the junefrouwe over the body of the sleeping knight, in which the countess indignantly repudiates first the claims of Moriz himself and then the claims of love in general, while the waiting-woman pleads the knight's cause in vain with every argument at her command (1264-1383). In the end the lady departs, leaving the waiting-woman very troubled and anxious (1384-1393). Eventually Moriz wakes from a dream of ominous foreboding and learns from the junefrouwe what has happened (1394-1439). He sends her to intercede for him once again with her mistress, and once again the countess remains implacable (1440-1510). When the junefrouwe reports the failure of her mission, Moriz, now desperate with anger and disappointment, resolves to hear from the countess' own lips what his crime has been, and makes his way into the bedroom where she and her husband are lying asleep (1511-1529). As he advances towards the bed, the mail which he is still wearing on one leg clangs on the floor and wakens the count who, seeing this grim apparition before him, still covered with the blood and dust of combat,

takes Moris for a ghost and is paralysed with fright (1530-1568). Moriz, seizing his opportunity, declares that he is in truth the ghost of the knight slain in the tournament, now condemned to burn in hell and come to fetch away his murderer to a similar doom, whereupon the count in a transport of terror leaps out of bed, falls headlong and knocks himself unconscious (1569-1580). Moriz takes his place in the bed beside the countess (1581-1587), who, helpless with shock and consternation, judges it best to appease her wrathful lover and yields to him of her own volition the favours which before she had so haughtily refused (1588-1619). As soon as the knight has had his will of her he rises, returns to her the ring she had given him, formally cancels the bond between them, and contemptuously takes leave of her, swearing never to forgive her disloyalty (1620-1637). He then resumes his victorious career while she is left lamenting her foolish unkindness (1638-1678).

One spring morning, unable to sleep for grief, she rises early and goes to her window where she stands looking out into the garden and once more bewailing her folly (1679-1725). The waiting-woman, who overhears her complaint, points out to her that she is now suffering the fate of all who neglect good counsel and show themselves over-proud in love. The countess herself admits that she is justly

punished for her fault, and she rings down the curtain with a last exhortation to all lovers to take warning by her fall and beware lest they become guilty of a like offence (1726-1776). A few lines (1777-1784) in which the poet expresses conventional regret for the inadequacy of his skill, bring the work to a conclusion.

I. THE FRENCH SOURCE

1.

"O dormiglioso, forte addormentato,
Già non sia amante per donna acquistare ..."
"Ci ama donna nu' bascia a durmire ..."

Every literary creation presumably has its first source in a single fruitful impulse from which all the rest derives its being. In many instances this original germ of inspiration is obscured from view by the subsequent complexities of thought and imagination and association which it has engendered. In Moriz von Craûn, however, it can still be clearly traced. As the outer layers of accretion are stripped away one by one it becomes increasingly apparent that there is a certain focal point which forms, as it were, a centre of equilibrium for the whole work and provides it, despite the many digressions and interpolations, with a measure of stability and cohesion. What lies at the heart of the poem is neither an incident nor a character but a situation, almost one might say a tableau - the man surprised by the woman asleep at the appointed place and hour of tryst. This is the moment of crisis to which everything else is in the last resort related; all the previous events lead upward

towards it, all the subsequent events lead downward away from it. And we are surely justified in assuming that it was in fact the starting-point of the theme, the foundation on which all the later edifice of subject-matter has been built up.

It is a motif which offers almost unlimited opportunities to the story-teller. It can be presented in any social context from the court to the gutter. It can be cast in many different narrative forms - romance, folk-tale, ballad, even the chronique scandaleuse - and in many different moods from tragedy to the most ribald farce. It offers scope for an unusually wide range of psychological motivation in the two persons chiefly concerned. The fateful sleep for instance - where it is induced by natural means and not by some charm or magic potion - can be the result of laziness, boorishness, indifference, a sleeping-draught, or mere physical fatigue. The reaction of the woman can take the form of delight or resentment, disappointment or relief, triumph or scorn. In the same way the counter-reaction of the man on waking can be shame, or remorse, or anger, or despair, or defiance, or unconcern. Indeed almost the whole gamut of emotion is needed to cover all the possible versions of the situation. Furthermore it is a state of affairs which cannot exist in isolation.

It demands both a prelude and a sequel; that is, it must follow on from something that has occurred in the past and it must also bring in its train certain consequences for the future. It can therefore serve as a very promising inauguration for a plot. And in addition to all these potentialities both for character portrayal and for epic invention it has the advantage of capturing one of the most dramatic predicaments in human life - the tension of mingled love and hostility between a man and a woman.

In view of all this it is not surprising that the motif is one of permanent and world-wide popularity.[1] No two versions are exactly alike, but broadly speaking they resolve themselves into two basic types, which occasionally combine to produce a third. These three types, of course, are not sharply differentiated and continue to exist side by side with a good deal of overlapping and interdependence. All three are at home in every place and epoch and there is no lack of evidence to prove that all three were in fact

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1. Cf. Stith Thompson, Motif Index of Folk-Literature (revised edition, Copenhagen 1955-58), Vol. II, Type D 1972; Aarne-Thompson, Types of the Folk-Tale (Helsinki 1928), Type 400; Victor Chauvin, Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux arabes (Liège 1892-1922), Vol. 5, p. 145, note 1 and Vol. 6, p. 122; Édouard Chavannes, Fables et contes de l'Inde (Actes du XIVe congrès international des orientalistes, Paris 1906), III, pp. 294f., No. 492.

well-known in the Middle Ages. It is quite useless to speculate about the ultimate provenance of these medieval versions. They may, like so many of the tales current in the medieval world, have been derived from Oriental sources, they may have evolved out of national or local tradition, they may have been reinforced by events drawn from real life, or they may - which is perhaps most likely - simply belong to that floating mass of universal and perennial themes which then as now was every man's and no man's property.

In the first type - perhaps the most archaic of the three - the attentions of the man are for one reason or another unwelcome, and the woman takes measures to protect herself by causing him to fall asleep. When he awakes he finds to his anger and chagrin that it is too late and that he has been foiled of his purpose.

The earliest versions of the theme make the sleep into an enchanted slumber brought about by a spell or some object with magic properties. A good example in point is the British ballad "The Broomfield Hill".[1] Here the girl lays a wager of five hundred pounds with the man that she will go and meet him on "the broomfield hill" and return

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1. F.J. Child, The English and Scottish Popular Ballads (Boston 1882-1898), No. 43. Six full texts and part of an American version are published.

home again a maid. She comes secretly in advance to the place appointed for the rendez-vous and casts a charm over it by scattering broomflowers or twigs of broom over the ground where he will lay his head, by putting a "broomstick under his heid", and so forth. When her lover has fallen asleep she comes again to the spot, leaves some token with him (e.g. puts a ring on his finger) as a proof that she has been there, and then goes away again. Meanwhile the man's attendants - his servants and even his horse and his hawk and hounds - try to waken him, but in vain. When at last he awakes after dreams of sinister foreboding he reproaches them bitterly until they protest that they did their best to rouse him. He then turns even more wrathfully against the lady.[1] She on the other hand exults over

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1. Cf. the version from Gavin Greig's Last Leaves of Traditional Ballads and Ballad Airs (ed. A. Keith, Aberdeen 1925), pp. 31f., No. XVII: When he awoke oot o his sleep / An' oot o his dreary dreams, / Says: 'Faur's a' my merry men a', / Since my true love's been here an' is gone?'
'If I'd been awakened when I was asleep, / The wulls o her I would hae taen; / I would not have varied (erred?) the very next day, /Tho' the wild beasts had trodden her doon.'
'Ye'll sleep more in the night, master, / An' awake more in the day, / If ye'd been awakened when ye was asleep / Your true lovie wouldn't gane a maiden away.'
Similar passages occur in another version in Barry-Eckstorm-Smyth, British Ballads from Maine (New Haven 192 pp. 438-42, and in the Journal of the English Folk-Song and Dance Society, Vol. 27, pp. 31ff.

the success of her ruse, for she has both saved her honour and won the wager.

This ballad appears to go back at least to the sixteenth century[1] in the British Isles and parallels to it can be found in folk-tale and folk-song all over the world.[2] A more modern rationalized form of the story occurs, for example, in a folk-ballad of very widespread currency in Italy. This song tells how a girl meets a cavalier at the fountain who promises her a large sum of money if she will allow him to share her bed for one night. When the moment comes the girl's mother gives him a drugged potion of some kind so that he sleeps soundly all night long.[3] In

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1. There is a song with the refrain "Broome, broome on hill" in The Complaynt of Scotland, dating from the year 1549.

2. Child, in his Introduction to "The Broomfield Hill", quotes numerous versions of the tale in which different kinds of sleepy charms are used - in Iceland a "sleep-thorn", in Sweden and Denmark "sleep-runes" and so on.

3. In "L'Amante deluso" (B. Bolza, Canzoni popolare comasche, Sitzungsberichte Wien, phil. hist. Klasse 53, No. 57, pp. 677f.) it is a sleeping-draught; in "La Bela Bruneta" (Anna Pasetti, Canzoni narrative raccolte a Chizzola nel Trentino, Studi romanzi 18 (1926), No. XXI, pp. 24f.) it is a "bevanda"; in "La bevanda sonnifera" (P. Villani, Saggio di conti popolari dalmati raccolti a Zara e in Arbe, Annuario Dalmatico 5 (1890), No. 8, pp. 89f.) the "forestiero" is put to sleep by means of a "medizina". In "Il Cavaliere Ingannato" (Giovanni Giannini, Canti popolari delle montagne lucchese, Torino 1889, No. 9, pp. 157-159) the girl's mother, prosaically enough, puts opium in his coffee.

the morning he is forced to admit that he has been outwitted and pays up ruefully - C'una mano si spasso gli occhi / Con quell' altra conta 'l danà.

The same motif figures more than once in medieval romance. In Heinrich von Freiberg's continuation of Gottfried's Tristan[1] Kaedin is prevented from enjoying the love of Kameline by a magic pillow belonging to Isolt, and a similar Schlafkissen is also introduced by Eilhart von Oberg in the corresponding episode from his Tristrant und Isalde.[2] In the Roman de Dolopathos[3] the unwelcome lover is charmed into sleep by a magic feather placed under the pillow, and in the Gesta Romanorum[4] by a magic letter concealed between the sheet and the coverlet. But though they may differ in detail, all the tales of the group agree in making the woman resort to some external - usually supernatural - expedient, in order to avoid having to bestow her favours on the man.

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1. Ed. A. Bernt (Halle 1906), 4861-4960.
2. Ed. F. Lichtenstein (Strassburg 1877), 6672ff.
3. Ed. C. Brunet and A. Montaiglon (Paris 1856), Fourth Tale, 7096ff.
4. Ed. S. Herrtage for the Early English Text Society (London 1879), Tale XL.

In the second type the situation is reversed. The man is invited, or at least admitted, to the presence of the woman. She is acquiescent - sometimes more than acquiescent - and if he fails to take advantage of his opportunity it is not because he has been drugged or thrown into a magic slumber, but because he is tired or lasy or boorish, or even because he has had the misfortune to oversleep and arrives at length to find the door barred against him.

This type of tale is manifestly coarser in tone than the first. Such medieval versions as have survived date from the latter part of the Middle Ages. No doubt anecdotes of a lusty nature were relished by audiences of high degree as well as low, even during the peak period of chivalric culture, but they would tend to circulate in a fugitive and subliterary form. In the charmed world of courtly romance they would be totally out of place. They are the product of a more down to earth outlook, which sees the relationship of the sexes not as a source of ideal poetic and moral refinement, but as a natural target for broad or cynical jesting.

Both the man and the woman are shown up in a rather unsympathetic light. If the woman is made indignant because her lover has failed to come up to her expectations, she is pilloried as that stock figure of ribald farce, the insatiable man-chaser. If she is willing, even eager, to bestow her

favours and the man is too inert or indifferent to profit from the occasion, she is exposed to ridicule in another fashion. If, on the other hand, she permits herself to exult over his discomfiture, or to upbraid him to his face with his lack of savoir-faire, her insubordination is liable to receive a sharp reproof, her lover sometimes exacting from her a promise that in future she will show herself properly submissive. All this gives scope for anti-feminist satire or raillery of an all-too-familiar kind, though it must be admitted that the rôle of half-hearted gallant is almost equally undignified.

Variants of this tale exist all over Europe, but here we are concerned with two branches of the tradition only, the Gallic and the Germanic.

Among the many French themes based on the motif known as "l'Occasion Manquée" there is one which might be said to take as its text the words mal ait amors de vilain, / trop est endormis.[1] It is found, for instance, in a folk-song "Le Galant Endormi", of which several versions have been collected. This song describes how the lover is invited to come to his sweetheart's room at night, but either fails to

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1. K. Bartsch, Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourellen (Leipzig 1870), III, 35, 191.

appear at the promised hour because he has overslept, or else falls asleep at the rendez-vous itself. Here the woman takes the initiative throughout. It is she who proposes the tryst, and it is she who taunts the sluggard with his failure to make use of his opportunity, rejecting his plea for a second chance:-

> Quand tu tenais la caill' au blé,
> Tu devais la plumer;
> Quand tu tenais la pie au nid,
> Tu devais la saisir![1]

A very similar incident, provided with an ostensible real-life setting, is related by Brantôme in the Vies des dames galantes,[2] and the situation has clearly passed into the standard repertoire of piquant anecdote.[3]

The German form of the tale is best represented by the song "Der verschlafene Jäger" which likewise exists in numerous versions, some of them going back as far as the fifteenth century. The outline of the story is common to all:

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1. J. Canteloube, Anthologie des chants populaires français (Durand, Paris 1951), III, 338.
2. Édition Garnier Frères (Paris 1864), p. 8 (Discours 1).
3. A. Jeanroy, Origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen âge (3rd edn., Paris 1925), pp. 147 and 150, note 1 quotes Italian versions of the same story, including an interesting folk-song from Leghorn: 'Na donna mma prumise alle cinc'ore, / Jeu, lu meschinu, mme ndn 'scii a durmire.'

the huntsman meets a girl, and accompanies her to her hut, or sometimes escorts her to his own house; but no sooner is he in bed than he falls asleep and only wakes at daybreak to find that he has let his chance slip by. The girl is on the whole passive, if not actually unwilling, and she is frequently relieved at the turn which events have taken[1] - du hast dich verschlafen, / das hat mich gefreut - but when she allows her triumph to become too unrestrained she is taken to task in no uncertain manner - dies tut den Jäger verdriessen; / er wollte das Mädchen erschiessen, / wohl um das einzige Wort[2] - and she is forced to beg his pardon for her hasty speech.

It is interesting to note that both the French and the German songs are most widely known and most frequently attested in the border regions that divide the two countries. With a single exception, all the French versions I have been able to discover come from Alsace, Franche-Comté or the

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1. Occasionally the song is even turned into a religious contrafactura in praise of virginity.

2. From a Lorraine version preserved in the Deutsches Volksliedarchiv, Freiburg.

French Alps;[1] and although isolated versions of "Der verschlafene Jäger" have been found in every part of the German-speaking area, including German Switzerland and Austria, the overwhelming majority come from the Rhineland, Lorraine, Low Germany, Holland and Flanders.[2] On both sides of the frontier, therefore, the tradition flourishes up to the present day, and it is precisely this same strip of territory to which, as we shall see, the provenance of Moris von Craûn - the French original no less than the German translation - is to be assigned. The coincidence is, at the least, remarkable and may well be significant.

It is also interesting that, although all the modern versions of "Der verschlafene Jäger" place the story in a rustic setting, two early Low German texts seem to hint that at one time the action was laid in a more aristocratic world. The huntsman is a knight:-

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1. E. Rolland, Recueil de Chansons Populaires (Paris 1883), I, No. V, p. 29, quoted from P-E. Tuefferd, "Curiosités de l'histoire de Montbéliard" (Revue d'Alsace, 1875, pp. 249ff.): J. Canteloube, loc. cit. (a text from Franche-Comté): J. Tiersot, Chansons populaires des Alpes Françaises (Grenoble-Moutiers, 1903), p. 274; the sole exception comes from Anjou, published by P. Simon, Chansons populaires de l'Anjou (Angers 1926), pp. 152f.

2. The Deutsches Volksliedarchiv enumerates three versions from Westphalia, three from Low German areas, eight from Holland, eight from Alsace, twenty-nine from Lorraine and thirty-four from the Rhineland.

Min Hărken wil ick laten hangen,
Dem Ridder, dem Jeger, to Schanden,[1]
Dat he de Tit verschlep;

- who persuades the girl to accompany him to his castle:-

Als he ten hogen borge quam,
(Het was een edel man),
Hoge dede hi hem setten,
Een bedde dede hi hem decken,[2]
Die slape hem verwan.

The third type is a combination of the other two, resembling the first in that it is the woman who comes to the man, rather than vice versa, and the second - especially the French form of the tradition - in that she is prepared to grant him her love; the man falls asleep while waiting for her arrival and she, finding him sleeping, departs sadly, angrily or reproachfully. It is clearly to this type that Moriz von Craûn belongs.

The subject is likewise found in popular legend all over the world.[3] One very widespread example of it is the motif of the "Zweimal/dreimal verschlafenes Stelldichein", which seems to be of Eastern origin. Two typical Oriental

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1. Uhland's version, dated by him about 1600, and published in the Alte hoch- und niederdeutsche Volkslieder, II, No. 104.

2. J.F. Willems, Oude Vlaamsche Liederen (Ghent 1848), No. 61, p. 160, dating from 1517.

3. Bolte-Polivka, Anmerkungen zu den Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm (Leipzig 1915), Vol. II, No. 93, pp. 335ff., quote numerous instances from Europe and Asia.

versions[1] relate how the hero, accompanied by a friend, comes to a villa in a garden, where they find a room with a costly bed, beside which stands a candelabrum; the prince, left alone, waits for the princess who is overlong in coming, so that at length he falls asleep; in due course the princess arrives, leaves a token to show that she has been there and departs again. The same thing happens on the second night, but on the third the prince manages to stay awake.

Like many other tales of the Orient, this theme also belonged to the narrative stock-in-trade of medieval Europe,[2] and one particular European version is of special interest in this connexion - the Meistergesang "Der Ritter von Purgund mit den Hirsen", composed by Hans Sachs on September 12th, 1552.[3] It tells how a knight out hunting pursues a stag, which eventually turns into a princess who has been bewitched by her wicked mother. She appoints a meeting with him for a year later, warning him, on pain of consequences disastrous to both, against falling asleep at the

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1. Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde, Vol. 15, pp. 325ff., and Vol. 18, pp. 168ff.; the two tales, one Kurdish, the other Kashmiri, agree very closely.

2. Cf. B. Barth, Liebe und Ehe im altfranzösischen Fabliel und in der mhd. Novelle (Palaestra, 97, Berlin 1910), p. 123.

3. The text is published in full by Bolte-Polivka, loc. cit., pp. 341ff.

tryst. A widow, wishing to marry her daughter to the knight, gives his false squire a Schlafnadel to stick in his master's mantle, so that he falls into a slumber from which the princess cannot rouse him. He is summoned a second night and once more the squire casts a sleep-charm over him. On the third night the same thing happens yet again. The girl is bitterly grieved and disappointed, kisses the sleeping man, hangs three gold chains about his neck and flees in her stag-shape. After a time the knight wakes and swoons when the squire tells him what has happened. He resolves to retire to the woods, in order to live the life of a solitary penitent, but is at last rescued and taken to Paris. There he hears of a tournament which is being proclaimed throughout France. For three days in succession he distinguishes himself in the joust, and finds that the maiden whose hand is being offered as the prise is the princess of the forest, now restored to human shape. They marry and live happily ever after. This extremely interesting tale combines features from all three of the foregoing types. It shares with Type I the motif of the sleep-charm, though here not used by the woman herself, but by an external agency hostile to the lovers; with Type II (especially the German tradition) the figure of the huntsman-knight in the rôle of hero; with Type III the fact that the man comes first to the rendez-vous and

falls asleep while waiting for the lady, and that she is compelled in consequence to deny him her love, if not for ever, at least till the offence has been fully expiated.

We may also note that the action is located in France (Burgundy and Paris) and set in a chivalric milieu; the hero is "ein ritter ... / Florenz genannt, gar adelich und wol gestalt", and the plot includes a typical tournament episode - "im gantzen kunigtumb / Franckreich ausrueffet man ainen turniere" - in which he inevitably carries off the prize. In view of all this it is at least likely that Hans Sachs was using as his source not a native popular tradition, but a lost romance or Novelle, based on the motif of the verschlafenes Stelldichein and derived in its turn from a French original[1] which has likewise perished.[2]

Yet in spite of this double resemblance, the charming fairy-tale of the Burgundian knight differs essentially from Moriz von Craûn in that it poses no problem. The hero's

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1. The supernatural elements in the plot suggest that this French tale may have been akin to the lai rather than the conte or fabliau.

2. Cf. Bolte-Polivka, loc. cit., p. 346: "Wenn ausserdem als Schauplätze der Handlung Burgund und Paris genannt werden, und der Ritter ... Florens heisst, so spricht dies dafür, dass Hans Sachs hier nicht ein mündlich überliefertes Volksmärchen, sondern einen auf französischen Vorbildern beruhenden Ritter-roman benutzte.".

sleep is involuntary, brought about by means of which he is unaware and which lie in any case outside his control. No moral issue is involved and the crisis is therefore up to a point arbitrary and artificial. Though the element of magic is not unknown in courtly romance,[1] the situation becomes much more dramatic when the misdemeanour, as in Moriz von Craûn, is motivated by purely human factors.

Even judged by normal standards, the lover who falls asleep while waiting for his beloved betrays a lack of ardour which the lady can hardly fail to take amiss:-

> O dormiglioso, forte addormentato,
> Già non sia amante per donna acquistare ...[2]
> Ci ama donna nu' bascia a durmire ...[3]

When - in theory at least - love is systematized into a code of thought and behaviour, directed towards certain prescribed ethical ideals, the point is immeasurably sharpened. In this casuistry of love, such an offence acquires precise implications as an example of blameworthy conduct. Moreover, not only is it a formal infringement of the rules

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1. A. Dickson, Valentine and Orson (N.Y. 1929), p. 94, note 78, states that in the Grail romances the hero falls asleep more than once at crucial moments and so forfeits the lady's love.

2. From a fourteenth century Italian song, quoted by Jeanroy, op. cit., p. 147.

3. From a modern Italian folk-song, quoted by Jeanroy, ibid. (See above, p. 35, note 3).

of courtesy and hence an outward sign of disloyalty, but it also has symbolical force as a mark of inner unworthiness. For wakefulness, like changing colour frequently or loss of appetite or falling dumb in the presence of the beloved, has always been accepted as one of the symptoms of true passion.

This notion is found already in Ovid.[1] It forms part of the highly-wrought Arabic doctrines of love.[2] And in the courtly love literature of medieval Europe also it becomes an established convention.[3] Nevertheless, in Moriz von Craûn it is more than a convention - it is the crux of the whole matter. The hero has been guilty of a breach of the code of love and so is denied the reward of his service. At the same time, though the lady is technically within her rights in refusing him her love, she herself is

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1. See the Ars Amatoria, Bk. I, 735f., and the Remedia Amoris, 205f.

2. E.g. in the Arabian Nights Entertainment, trans. Sir Richard Burton (London, 1897), the Tale of Aziz and Azizah (Vol. 2, p. 205): "for sleep is unlawful and to a lover undue; therefore is thy love but a lie": or the Tale of Kanmakan (Vol. 2, p. 302): "Hadst thou been leal in love's loyalty, ne'er haddest suffered sleep to seal those eyne". For these and similar analogies, see an article by F.R. Schroeder, "Zum Moriz von Craûn" in the Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift, Vol. 35 (1954), 357ff.

3. Among many examples one might cite Dietmar von Eist: Sô al diu werlt ruowe hât, sô mag ich eine entslâfen niet; / dag kumt von einer frouwen schoene, der ich gerne waere liep (Des Minnesangs Frühling, ed. Lachmann-Haupt-Vogt, rev. C. v. Kraus, Zürich 1950, 32, 9f.); or Chaucer's description of the Squire: so hote he lovede, that by nightertale / he sleep namore than dooth a nightingale (Prologue 97f.).

even more gravely at fault in that she judges by the letter of the law rather than the spirit, and she too must suffer the penalty.

The idea is developed in symmetrical fashion throughout the poem. At the outset, when Moriz is whole-heartedly devoted to the service of his liege-lady, he is unable to sleep; he spends his nights musing about his feelings, er lag eines nahtes eine / und gedahte an sîne arbeit (424f.), or planning the exploits which are to be the final proof of his love, er hête manege lange naht / dâ vor sô ofte gedaht, / wie er sîn schif vertaete (1249ff.); when, after the tournament, the countess delays her coming, his affections begin to flag, the sustaining power of love ceases to operate, resentment is followed by weariness, zornic und traege (1227), and sleep quickly overpowers him, dô legete er sîn houbet ... in ir schôz und slief gehant (1245ff). The same thing, in reverse order, applies to the countess; when she is in harsh and unloving mood, she is impatient for sleep (ich wil slâfen unge fruo, 1504), but when love and remorse touch her heart too late, she is sleepless (dô mohte sie von sorgen / geslâfen noch geligen dâ, 1698f.).

For the poet of Moriz von Craûn the hero's sleep was therefore the outward manifestation of a particular frame of mind and hence was significant both as a physical fact and as a moral problem. Symbolism of this kind, so typical of

its age, was more than just a play of the fancy or of the intellect. Long after its original message has ceased to be relevant it still carries conviction, because it does not merely appeal to the imagination and satisfy the instinctive craving for balanced design - it is firmly grounded in the realities of human emotion and experience. The ability to harmonize aesthetic values and psychological truth so that they enhanced and complemented each other instead of being at variance is one of the peculiar achievements of the poets of chivalry; and our text, in spite of its unpretentious scale, is no unworthy representative of their skill in this respect.

2.

"J'entends ce minuit
Frapper à ma porte:
Si c'est un esprit,
Je crierai bien fort ...
C'est la voix de mon amant ..."[1]

"A moi s'il ne faut plus penser,
Tu as trop fait la difficile.
Maintenant c'est à mon tour;
Adieu, la belle, pour toujours!"[2]

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1. Ernest Closson, Chansons populaires des pays belges (Brussels 1903), No. 160.

2. Rolland, op. cit., II, p. 158.

Here then is the centre of gravity of the work, the Falke, to use Heyse's well-known term, of this Novelle. But Moriz' ill-timed slumber does not only present in concrete form the essence of the problem, it also provides a focus for the whole sequence of events. Every incident, even the panorama of universal history outlined in the prologue to the main story, ultimately converges on this one point.

Judged by any standards, as already pointed out, the situation is a very promising one as the basis for a plot, since it must of necessity look both ways - into the past for its causes, into the future for its consequences - each direction offering endless possibilities for narrative invention. When, however, as in Moriz von Craûn, the theme and the problem, that is, the external and the internal action, are indissolubly linked, invention must be subjected to the strict control of logic. Whereas in the fairy-tale versions the issue is blunted by the presence of the supernatural element, which relieves the actors in the drama of any genuine moral responsibility, our poem, which is concerned with a real-life conflict in a real-life setting, must motivate the fateful sleep in a rationally convincing manner. One must admit that the way in which the whole tightly-knit framework of the tale has been built up in successive stages round this single moment of crisis is a masterpiece of construction.

Obviously it will not do to have the hero, who is intended to be a paragon of virtue, guilty of unmannerliness or laziness. If he falls asleep when he should not, it can only be from natural fatigue arising out of over-exertion which, in order to heighten the irony of his predicament and obtain the maximum dramatic tension, must be exertion imposed by the service of the lady herself and undertaken in her honour. Of all the accepted forms of Frauendienst the most strenuous and hence the one most calculated to produce bodily exhaustion was the tournament. Thus the tournament episode is not an interlude, still less an interpolation; it is an essential part of the plan.[1]

All this furnishes a background for the crisis. The stage is set, the lovers are introduced, their mutual relations are explained, and the feat of homage is commissioned, devised and triumphantly carried out, with each successive incident driving the action steadily forward towards the moment of decision. In the same way all that follows is the direct outcome of it, for the lovers must be confronted by the consequences of their choice. The knight, whose

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1. Since this whole section, including the question of the ship on wheels, is of great intrinsic interest and significance, detailed analysis of it is reserved for Chapters III and IV.

fault is the more excusable in that it results from excess of devotion to the lady's service and from disappointment when the longed-for recompense of his labours is delayed, suffers only temporary reproach. The lady, whose transgression is graver, in that it springs from an unregenerate heart, must receive a severer and more lasting punishment.

In order to bring this about, the two protagonists must once again be brought face to face, with their respective positions exchanged. As the countess comes to Moris and repudiates him, Moriz in his turn must come to the countess and repudiate her. So the action moves on inexorably from the crisis to the climax, namely the scene in the bedchamber. To this end the poet has made use of another ancient and universal motif, that of the revenant who appears to the faithless beloved as she sleeps beside her new partner.[1] Here also the supernatural element has been rationalized to bring the theme into line with the purpose of the work, and here also a dramatic situation, momentary in itself, has been fitted neatly and effectively into a closely-forged chain of circumstance.

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1. Stith Thompson, Motif-Index of Folk Literature (revised edition, Copenhagen 1955-58) under the heading "Ghosts and other Revenants", especially types E. 200-211, E. 214, E. 221.3. The "revenant" episode, which is very closely connected with the account of the tournament, is treated in fuller detail at the end of Chapter III.

At this crucial juncture the third member of the triangle, the lady's husband, is brought for the second time on to the scene of action. His rôle too, like that of the chief personages in the drama, has a double aspect. Earlier on in the story he makes a direct contribution to the course of events when he is responsible for the death of the unnamed knight during the preliminary skirmishing that takes place before the tournament. This misfortune, though at first sight it appears unimportant, is in fact indispensable for the development of the plot. His shame and anguish at the deed reduce him to a prostrate condition which prevents his wife from quitting his side until the hour appointed for the tryst is past and thus indirectly helps to precipitate the catastrophe; moreover, his guilty conscience makes him peculiarly liable to suggestion, so that when Moriz, taking advantage of the proffered opportunity, claims to be the spirit of the dead man returning to vex his slayer, the count at once falls into a state of such blind terror that he is easily rendered harmless. In addition his function is symbolical, in that he is the natural guardian of the lady's honour; only when he has been incapacitated for action can she be delivered over into the power of the hero and exposed to the retribution that is her due.

The nature of her disgrace is appropriate to the offence. The favours that she refused to grant of her own free will are now demanded of her by force in humiliating fashion. Then, when she has accepted the inevitable with as good a grace as possible in the hopes of placating her injured lover, he turns on her with contempt, formally cancels his vows, and abandons her to her dishonour:-

1634 "Nû siuwerm manne (dem ist wê)
und habet dan ân êre!
ich vergibe iu nimmer mêre
disen lasterbaeren roup."

It remains to be considered how much of the foregoing may already have existed in the French source of Moriz von Craûn, and how much may have been introduced or at least revised by the German poet. Unfortunately at this stage of the intrigue Moriz von Craûn and the conte Du chevalier qui recovra l'amor de sa dame begin to part company for good, and we are thrown back on conjecture. As far as external happenings are concerned, the two versions agree together up to the point where the hero gives himself out as the ghost of the dead knight, but the underlying assumptions in each case are radically different. The French knight does not make his way into the bedchamber in a spirit of indignation and rancour, but as a contrite delinquent. Instead

of setting out to unnerve the count into panic, the fancied apparition uses his victim's fright as a means of cajoling pardon from the lady for his offence, and she, reassured by his discretion on her behalf, is at length prevailed upon to grant it; so the tale ends on a gay and distinctly unedifying note, with the simple husband bamboozled as usual and the quick-witted gallant restored to favour. The author confines himself to a very superficial view both of the lover's guilt and of the lady's reactions to it. In other words, the poem is not intended as a problem piece but as an amusing, if slightly cynical, pleasantry, a conte à rire.

Yet in spite of this divergence, it is unlikely that the more serious handling of the subject is altogether the work of the German poet. The whole episode, with all that it implies, is too much an integral part of the story to have been added later as an afterthought. We may guess that the conte represents a light-hearted variation on a current theme, in which the theoretical problems involved have been greatly simplified and diluted; and that the original source of Moriz von Craûn presented the issue in terms on the whole very similar to those of the text as we possess it.

In matters of detail it is naturally quite impossible to distinguish the two strata with any degree of accuracy.

At most we can say that certain lines, chiefly of a concrete descriptive nature, do appear to have been taken over from the French original. For instance, the phrase ir sigen an die mouwen / die zeher und ûf die hande (1468f.) is, as far as I have been able to discover, without parallel in German, whereas it at once recalls stock French formulae of extravagant grief, such as:-

De larmes moillent li lais di son mantel,[1]

or:-

Les larmes de son cuer corrent de tel ravine,
que ses bliaus en moille et ses mantels hermine.[2]

Conversely, the lengthy dialogue - almost a disputatio - between the countess and her waiting-woman, begun over the body of the sleeping knight and resumed over the body of the sleeping husband, shows signs of having been considerably amplified by the German poet. The constant play on the words schade (1315, 1344, 1408, 1433, 1444, 1490, 1495, etc.) and schande (1305, 1387, 1470, etc.) is always a mark of his handiwork. Again, the lady's argument that it behoves women to be circumspect in love because men were deceivers

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1. Bartsch, RP I, 4, 3.
2. Ibid., I, 59, 60f.

ever - swem zuo der minne ist ze gâch / dâ gât vil lihte schade nâch (1343f.) - occurs in almost identical words in Ulrich von Lichtenstein's Frauendienst:- ist iu ze gacher liebe gâch / dâ kumt diu afterrîve nâch.[1]

Indeed, the whole situation invites comparison with the well-known passage from Frauendienst where Ulrich, having gained entrance to his lady's private apartments in hopes of the promised reward, finds that she is once again resolved to play the hard-hearted coquette. The knight pleads his cause, and the lady's attendants join their voice with his, in language that might have been taken direct from our poem:-

352,3 "Es ist niht ein guot wîplîch muot,
das sî an mir als übel tuot".

354,29 "Wie stüende das iwerm werden namen
(sich möhte iwer werdicheit wol schamen)
ob ich von hinne füer alsô,
das ich müest immer sîn unvrô".

358,32 "Sô hât ouch das vil werde wîp
ir güete, ir êre mit mir verlorn".

362,25 "Und scheide ich alsô von iu hie,
sô getet für wâr ein vrowe nie
an ritter wirs denne ir an mir".

372,24 "Got weis wol, das ir übel tuot
an im, getar ichs gein iu gejehen".

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1. Ed. R. Bechstein (Deutsche Klassiker des Mittelalters, Leipzig 1888), 585, 27f.

We may therefore venture the conclusion that in this episode the German poet derived the greater part of the subject-matter from his French source, but that he probably expanded the dialogue and the more reflective passages in order to bring out yet more clearly the underlying purpose of his tale.

3.

"Toute seule passerai le vert boscage,
Puis que compaignie n'ai;
Se j'ai perdu mon ami par mon outrage
Toute seule passerai le vert boscage ..."[1]

After the climax of the narrative, culminating in the humiliation of the countess, the poet proceeds to drive home the lesson with relentless candour. The hero, we are briefly told, resumes his career as a successful chevalier tournoyeur. His honour, so far from having suffered damage, is greater than ever before, and his fame spreads through all the country round about. Thereafter the poet has no more concern with his doings and he vanishes from the scene, the rest of the poem being exclusively devoted to the fate of the lady, as chief culprit in the affair.

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1. F. Gennrich, Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen (Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, Vol. 43, Dresden 1921), Vol. I, No. 95.

The shame and remorse that are set before us in the next eighty lines are no less convincing because their mode of expression is so rigidly formalized. They reveal themselves in the outward appearance she presents to the world, for the spectacle of her former lover's renown increases her sense of loss to such a pitch that her beauty - always in the medieval view a concomitant of virtue or happiness - begins visibly to fade (1645-50). They also pervade her inward thoughts (si gedahte ... 1651ff.) which are given explicit utterance in formulae of self-accusation as sharply defined as a physical gesture. The stylized pose further demands a stylized setting, and occasion, time and place are all invoked to contribute to the mood of melancholy and vain regret. It is early summer, when the beauty and bliss of Nature are at their height (1679-96). Yet, though it is the season for the delights of love, the lady, by her own folly, has become an exile from all these joys. Sleepless with grief she rises early in the morning and goes alone to an arbour, or balcony - perhaps overlooking the selfsame garden in which stood the bower where she was to have met her lover (1697-1704).[1] There she stands at the

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1. See below, p. 81.

window, leaning her cheek on her hand, listening to the song of the nightingale (1705-13), and her sad longing vents itself aloud in a complaint even more passionate than her previous mental soliloquy (1714-25). This technique of conveying emotion is very characteristic of medieval poetry. It is as though the countess were being exhibited in a series of prescribed attitudes, each one seemingly artificial, yet each eloquent with meaning by virtue of its intricate context of association.

When we come to analyse these associations in detail, we find ourselves on firmer ground than usual. Some German scholars have discerned at this point a likeness to the women's songs in early Minnesang, especially to one or two of the Kürenberg stanzas and to the Falkenlied of Dietmar von Eist, and on these grounds have regarded the episode as an addition by the German poet.[1]

It is true that the whole tone of the passage is markedly lyric in character, so that de Boor's verdict: "Ein in epische Darstellung umgesetztes Minnelied" is at any rate partially justified. Nevertheless, setting aside

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1. E.g. G. Rosenhagen, "Deutsches und Französisches in der mhd. Märe Moriz von Craûn", pp. 804, 814, and de Boor, op. cit., pp. 148f.

lines 1671-78 (which, as we hope to show later, may well be an interpolation on the part of the translator), and much of the conventional phraseology of the nature description, which is common to both languages, there are in fact few portions of the poem whose French origins are more unmistakably apparent. For virtually every detail it is as easy to find French parallels as it is hard to find German ones, and we may conclude without hesitation that here at least the German poet was content to follow his source as closely as he could.

To begin with, the lament of the hard-hearted mistress who, from pride or caprice, has thrown away the devotion of a noble lover is a French rather than a German motif. Such regrets are an established commonplace in the medieval love-lyric of France. Two examples will suffice for many:-

"Lasse, por quoi refusai
Celui qui tant m'a amée?
Lonc tens a a moi musé
Et n'i a merci trouvée.
Lasse, si trés dur cuer ai!
Qu'en dirai?
Forsenée,
Plus que desvée,
Quant le refusai."[1]

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1. Jeanroy, op. cit., "Textes", p. 499, No. XXI.

"Onques n'amai tant con je fui amée,
Or m'en repent, s'il me peüst valoir ...
Lasse, por coi sui je de mere née,
Par mon orgueill ai mon ami perdu."[1]

The theme is transmitted through the later medieval chanson, such as that quoted at the head of this section, into folk-poetry proper, where it survives up to the present day:-

"Ah! que je suis donc malheureuse
D'avoir ainsi trop parlé!
J'avais un amant fidèle,
Un amant tout à mon gré.
J'ai trop fait la difficile,
A présent il m'a quitté."[2]

More important from the present viewpoint is its occurrence in French courtly romance. A striking instance, for which I know of no German equivalent, is found in Sone de Nansay,[3] where Yde on more than one occasion is made to bewail her foolish unkindness towards the hero. Parallel quotations from Sone de Nansay and Moriz von Craûn will show how extraordinarily close the resemblance is:-

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1. G. Raynaud, Recueil de Motets Français (Bibl. du moyen âge, Paris 1883), Vol. II, p. 48.

2. J. Bujeaud, Chants et chansons populaires des Provinces de l'Ouest (Niort 1895), Vol. I, p. 219.

3. Ed. Moritz Goldschmidt (Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, CCXVI, Tübingen 1899).

Sone de Nansay

Et pour coi blasme je autrui,
Quant je meïsmes telle sui?
Moi et autrui ai tourmenté,
Sour moi ai le blasme tourné.
Lasse, fait ello, je pierdi
Par ma folie tel amant,
Dont j'ai au cuer duel si grant.
Li grans orgieulz de mon maintien
M'a tolu orgeilleusement
Tout bien et laissaie en tourment.
He lasse, pour quoy ai pierdu
Chelui qui si entiers me fu?
Ch'est damages; dessiervi l'ay,
Si le doy avoir et si l'ay ...

Moriz von Craûn

... ez ist reht unde wol
daz ich von schulden kumber dol.
von grôzer liebe dol ich leit.
darumbe trage ich arbeit,
die ich mir selber gewan.
Des wil ich fluochen der zît,
dô mich mîn unrehter strît
an streit unz er mich überwant.
ich hân mich selber geschant.
der schaden würde guot rât,
ich binz, diu die schande hât,[1]
al die wîle sô ich lebe.
wem sal ich daz wol wîzen,
daz ich hin für vergebene
einem tôtlîchen lebene
muoz sîn bereit und undertân.
des gunde ich mir; von diu ichz hân

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1. Accepting Pretzel's emendation of these two lines. The MS. has: des schaden wurd gůt / rat. ich bin die den schaden hat.

By a simple but nonetheless effective stroke of poetic irony, these elegaic outpourings are set against a background of Nature at its most fresh and joyous. The use of Nature as a foil to human emotion is one of the characteristic devices of medieval literature and it has remained a standing convention ever since. In the courtly lyric especially, descriptions of springtime or winter are very frequently prefaced, now in harmony, now in contrast, to the reflections of the hopeful or disconsolate lover.

They are not genuine examples of the pathetic fallacy, nor have they even any precise symbolical import. They are the result of a new bias towards introspection, a preoccupation with the workings of the mind and heart, which values the natural world primarily because of its power to evoke certain conscious reactions in the beholder, and so to quicken or intensify the self-awareness of the individual - in other words, to act as a species of scenic backdrop for subjective experience.[1] It is a romantic, and in the true sense of the word a "sentimental" approach, which here,

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1. For the whole question of Nature in the literature of the courtly period see L. Schneider, Die Naturdichtung des deutschen Minnesangs (Neue deutsche Forschungen, Abt. dt. Phil. 6, Berlin 1938), A. Moret, "La Nature dans le Minnesang" (Études Germaniques, IX, 1948, pp. 12-24), and especially W. Ganzenmüller, Das Naturgefühl im Mittelalter (Berlin-Leipzig 1914) and "Die empfindsame Naturbetrachtung im Mittelalter" (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, XII, 2, 1914, pp. 195ff.).

significantly enough, is embodied in the person of a woman.[1]

The descriptions themselves tended everywhere to follow a recognized pattern, and each trait mentioned in these lines - the singing of the birds in the greenwood, the young foliage, the meadows brilliant with flowers (gemuoget 1692 = adorned with mosaic-work), and the sense of joyous exhilaration inspired by the rebirth of the year - could be matched a hundred times over in reverdies from either France or Germany. For this reason it is impossible to determine with any degree of accuracy how much should be assigned to the original source and how much may have been added by the translator.

All the same, one or two clues can be detected. For instance, the couplet: (sich hâte gevasset) der walt unde schoeniu kleit / gegen dem sumer an geleit (1689f.) seems to be a specifically German turn of phrase,[2] whereas the

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1. Ganzenmüller, Die empfindsame Naturbetrachtung ..., p. 224: "So hat auch bei den dichtenden Rittern der Frühzeit der Umgang mit Frauen die Empfindung für weibliches Gefühlsleben geschärft; ja man möchte annehmen dass die empfindsame Naturbetrachtung zu allen Zeiten auf starken weiblichen Einfluss hinweist".

2. E.g. Gottfried von Strassburg, Tristan, 563f.: der hasta ûz bluomen ane geleit / sô wünneclîchiu sumerkleit; Frd. 63, 15f.: und ouch diu heide hât an geleit / ir wunneclîches sumercleit, 407, 7f.: und daz diu heide hât an geleit / von liehter varbe ir sumerkleit, 411, 21f und daz diu heide verlôs ir kleit, / daz ir der meie hat an geleit.

expression balde (1682) applied to the song of the birds recalls the French baudor, which is commonly used in this connexion.[1] Even more suggestive is the use of brimme in 1684. It is a very rare word, lying quite outside the normal vocabulary of the German reverdie. The scribe himself seems to have been unfamiliar with it, for he has corrupted it to prünne, which in this context is quite meaningless. We may surmise that the word was only introduced in the first place because the author of our poem found it there in his source and felt bound to retain it; this is further borne out by the fact that the phrase manecger stimme which ends the preceding line is mere padding, inserted for no apparent reason except that it provided a convenient rhyme to brimme.

In the standard dictionaries of modern and medieval German, brimme is usually equated with "Ginster" on the assumption that it is an alternative form to MHG pfrimme (Genista - MHG Pfrieme, Pfrieme(en)kraut, connected with

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1. E.g. Le Roman de Thebes (ed. L. Constans, SATF., Paris 1890), Vol. II, p. 138, 2684f.: oisiel i cantent par douçor. / Sor les arbres font grant baudor; Bartsch, RF. II, 62, 4f.: cil oisellon s'envoisent / Et mainent grant baudor.

English broom). However in several parts of the Rhineland Brimme and Brimbeer occur as dialect variants of the standard NHG Brombeere (Rubus fruticosus - MHG brâme, brâmber, cognate with English bramble).[1] More important still from the standpoint of the present argument, the forms Breimen and Prehme, which are clearly related to Brimme, are attested within the same general area as names for the wild rose.[2] If we are justified in assuming that these present-day variants are based on long-standing regional tradition, it is quite possible that MHG brimme might, especially in a Rhenish text, denote the bramble or the briar-rose; in which case it is likely, though of course not demonstrable, that the poet used the word here as a native equivalent for the French aiglantier, or perhaps flors en l'espine. The eglantine or sweetbriar was in fact one of the stock features of the reverdie in France, particularly in love-

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1. The Rheinisches Wörterbuch (J. Müller, Bonn 1928, Vol. III, under the heading "Brombeerstrauch") enumerates examples from München-Gladbach, Rheydt, Gummersbach, Kempen and Issum in Gelderland; the records of the Deutscher Sprachatlas Kommission (to whose kindness I am indebted for the information in this and the following note) includes examples from rather further south, e.g. Brimel, or Briemel, from the Eifel region, Brimmel to the north of Trier, Brimebeer on the upper Lahn, and further variants like Bremel, Brembeere, Bremere from the Rhenish Palatinate and the Mosel region.

2. Breimen was noted down slightly north-west of the Luxemburg frontier and Prehme in the Westerwald (Kreis Altenkirchen).

poetry, where it seems to have had special symbolical connotations. We find it in the troubadour lyric,[1] in the pastourelle,[2] in the chanson d'histoire.[3] Most significant of all, we find it in the one undisputed song of the historical Maurice de Craon, which may conceivably have served as a basis for the whole passage:-

A l'entrant del douz termine
Del tans novial
Que naist la flours en l'espine,
Et cil oisial
Chantent parmi la gaudine
Seri et bial
Dont me rassaut amours fine,
D'un tres douz mal ...[4]

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1. E.g. Jaufre Rudel (ed. A. Jeanroy, Class. fr. d.m.a. 15, Paris 1915), No. II, 3: par la flors aiglentina.

2. E.g. Bartsch, RP. I, 61, 3f.: De joste un aiglentier / Ere por la verdor, and I, 63, 3ff.: Main me levai, joer m'alai / A une fontenele. / En un vergier clos d'aiglentier.

3. P. Paris, Le romancéro françois (Paris 1833), No. V, 27f.: Alez moi dire Ugon, sans point d'arestement, / Qu'en mon père vergier l'atandrai sous l'aiglent.

4. A. Långfors, Les Chansons attribuées aux seigneurs de Craon (Mémoires de la Société Néo-philologique de Helsingfors, VI, 1917, pp. 41ff.), p. 59.

In the Low Countries, the eglantine still figures occasionally in folk-song; in a Flemish Maying song, for instance, if the "May-branch" (symbol of the bond of love) dies, it is to be buried op't Kerkhof bij den eglantier.[1] But in Germany itself, though the term "Brombeerpflücken" is found in some areas as a popular euphemism for the act of love, neither Brombeere nor Weinrose (the more exact botanical equivalent of the French églantier) belongs to that established repertoire of poetic imagery which each separate nation within the larger unity of Western European tradition has evolved as part of its most distinctive heritage.

If this vernal idyll, serving both as prelude and contrast to what follows, can be ascribed without much question to the original source, the same applies even more strongly to the remainder of the episode, where the thread of the narrative is resumed in a manner which leaves no doubt as to its French provenance. For though the association of springtime and love is as old and universal as mankind itself, the forms in which it may be given imaginative expression through the medium of poetry vary characteristically from one country to another.

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1. From Volksliederenbundel, ed. J.H. Gottmer (Haarlem 1952): "Schoen lief, hoe ligt gij hier."

Here we are concerned with a single theme out of the endless range of possibilities - that of the woman who rises early one spring morning and goes out to meet her lover. The motif is probably derived in the first instance from the ancient and widespread customs connected with May morning, when the lover would come at daybreak to his sweetheart's window and waken her with a summons to rise and greet the spring.[1] But once it had begun to pass from the realm of living observance into that of artistic convention, it tended to become no more than an attractive cliché, a ready-made device to suggest "atmosphere", or simply a handy opening formula to launch the uninspired or inexperienced singer on his way.

Within the general area of diffusion, which extends over the greater part of Europe, each country has developed its own native variant, and a comparison between the French and German types is illuminating from the point of view of our text.

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1. A sixteenth-century example of the "Maying Song" is published by Bartsch, "Französische Volkslieder des XVI. Jahrhunderts" (Zfrom. Phil. V, 1881, pp. 521ff.) No. 31: A ce matin je vous esveille/Du mois de may le premier jour,/A la joly rose vermeille;/I voles vous dormir tousjours?

In Germany there are one or two traditional songs which begin by relating how a girl gets up early one morning and goes out into a wood or a garden[1] to pick blackberries or to gather roses. The fact that these songs are widely divergent as regards tone and content, ranging in both from the coarsely jocular to the tragic, is in itself a proof of the stereotyped character of their common introduction. A few examples will suffice by way of illustration:-

A. Es solt ein meidlein frü auf stan,
Es solt in wald nach röslein gan.

B. Es wollt ein Mägdlein früh aufstahn,
Und in den Wald nach Röslein gahn.

C. Es wollt ein Jungfrau früh aufstehn,
Wollt in des Vaters Garten gehen,
Roth Röslein wollt sie brechen ab.

D. Es wollt ein Mädchen in der Früh aufstehn,
Wollt in dem grünen Wald spazieren gehn.

E. Es gieng e Maidl nach Hols im Wald,
Gar zeitig in der Früh.

F. Es wollt ein Mädchen in der Früh aufstehn,
Wollt in den Wald spazieren gehn.

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1. Both the wood and the garden (the bois d'amour and the jardin d'amour), like the Brombeerpflücken mentioned above, and the Rosenbrechen, are all well-known examples of erotic folk-symbolism.

G. Es wollt ein Mägdlein früh aufstehn,
Dreiviertel Stund vor Tag,
Wollt in den Wald spazieren gehn,
Wollt Brombeern brechen ab.

H. Es wollt ein Mädchen früh aufstehn,
Frisch Wasser wollt es holen gehn.

I. Es wollt ein Mädchen in der Früh aufstehn,
Ein Stündelein vor dem Tag;
Brombeeren wollt sie brechen gehn.

J. Do sall en jonge Maid früh opstoan,
Se sall no de Grönewald bönne goan.[1]

The group is not a large one, and the tradition seems to be entirely popular, that is to say sub-literary, and comparatively recent in date, going back no earlier than the beginning of the sixteenth century. It appears to have no direct antecedents either in the Middle High German courtly lyric or in the song-books of the fifteenth century. Moreover its distribution is to a great extent localised. Though isolated instances have been found in many parts of Germany,[2] the majority are concentrated in one particular

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1. A: Uhland's Alte hoch-und niederdeutsche Lieder, No. 93 A; B and C: L. Erk-F.M. Böhme, Deutscher Liederhort (Leipsig 1893-94), I, 96 b. I. and 208; D: V. Beyer, Elsässische Volkslieder (Frankfurt/M 1926) No. 8; E: J. Canteloube, op. cit., III, 402; F: J. Meier, Das deutsche Volkslied - Balladen (Deut. Lit. in Entwicklungsreihen gesammelt, Reihe 10, Bd. 2, Leipzig 1936), No. 73 D.; G: Der Zupfgeigenhansl (ed. Breuer, Leipsig 1937), p. 135; H and I: L. Pinck, Verklingende Weisen (Metz 1926), Vol. I, pp. 62 and 189; J: J. Meier, op. cit., No. 73 F.

2. The text A quoted above was taken by Uhland from a collection probably printed in Nuremberg, and B comes from Petersdorf in Silesia.

region - the strip of territory running alongside the French frontier from Alsace to the Low Countries.[1] The ballad of "Der todwunde Knabe", perhaps the most important representative of the type, is assumed by J. Meier to be of Low German origin,[2] and among his versions of the text he includes one from Holland and one from the Lower Rhine;[3] while, significantly enough, the only medieval example I have been able to discover in any German dialect comes from the writings of a Fleming, Duke Jôhann von Brabant, who is known to have been bilingual and who is believed to have composed songs in French as well as Flemish-German:-[4]

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1. Texts D and E quoted above come from Alsace, F and G from Hessen-Nassau, H and I from Lorraine. The provenance of C is not stated in the source.

2. Loc. cit. (Das deutsche Volkslied - Balladen, note on No. 73): - "Die Ballade scheint schon Anfang des 16. Jhs. auf deutsch-niederländischem Gebiete, über das sie wohl nicht hinausgekommen ist, verbreitet gewesen zu sein".

3. The text J quoted above, and a Dutch version dating from 1719, beginning: Daer is een vrouw maget vroeg opgestaen.

4. For details of his career, including his death in 1294 at the tournament of Bar-sur-Aube at the age of thirty-four, see the article by G. Rosenhagen in Stammler's Verfasserlexikon des deutschen Mittelalters (Leipzig 1933-1955).

Eenes meienmorghens vroe
was ic op gestaen,
In een schoon boomgaerdekijn
soudic spelen gaen.[1]

All the evidence in fact suggests that the motif in question is not a native German one at all, but has been borrowed from France, first into the border lands, where it is still most common, and from there sporadically into more distant areas. C. Brouwer goes still further and claims that all such formulae in German folk-song can ultimately be traced back to the French courtly love-song of the Middle Ages.[2] And in this case at least his opinion is borne out by the facts.

For in France it has always been a favourite incipit. There must be literally dozens of folk-song texts, drawn from every part of the country, which open with a stanza or series of stanzas describing how the lover - generally, though not always, a woman - rises at dawn and goes into a garden, sometimes to gather roses, signifying passion, or some other symbolical flower, sometimes to listen to the song of the nightingale. Again, a few examples will suffice for many:-

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1. F.H. von der Hagen, Minnesinger (Leipzig 1838), I, 9, II. The original Low German form of the poems was reconstructed by H. von Fallersleben.
2. C. Brouwer, Das Volkslied in Deutschland, Frankreich, Belgien und Holland (Groningen 1930), pp. 137ff.

a. Par un matin je m'y lève,
Par un beau soleil levant.
Je vais au jardin et j'entre,
Par une porte d'argent.

b. Je m'suis levé de bon matin,
Pour cueillir rose et romarin.

c. Ce matin me suis levé,
Plus matin que de coutume;
Suis allé dans mon jardin
Pour cueillir la rose brune.

d. Je m'ai levé de bon matin ...
J'ai descendu dans mon jardin,
Cueillir la rose blanche.
Je n'étais pas sitôt entrée,
Que mon amant y entre.

e. Le bon matin me suis levé,
J'entends le rossignolet chanter ...
Dans mon jardin je suis allé ...
Trois roses blanches ai coupées ...

f. De bon matin je me suis levé ...
Dans mon jardin je suis allé ...
Une rose j'y ai coupée ...

g. Boun maiti me soui levat,
Plus maiti que la coustumo;
Al jardi m'en soun anat,
Culhi l'herbado mennde.[1]

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1. Version a: J. Canteloube, op. cit., IV, p. 297 (Normandy); b: J. Bujeaud, op. cit., I, p. 78 (the West); c: J. Tiersot, Mélodies populaires des provinces de France (Série 9, Paris 1928), p. 11 (Dauphiné); d: E. Closson, Chansons populaires des pays belges (2nd edn. Brussels 1949), No. 196; e: Canteloube, op. cit., I, p. 163 (Cévennes); f: Canteloube, op. cit., II, p. 163 (Auvergne); f: Chants et chansons populaires du Languedoc (ed. L. Lambert, Paris-Leipzig 1906), II, p. 209 (Ariège).

h. De bon matin me suis levé,
Pour voir si le rossignol chante ...
Dans mon jardin le rossignol y chante,
Soir et matin à la pointe du jour.

i. Je descends dans mon jardin,
Par un escalier d'argent.
Il n'y a personne qui m'a vue,
Que le rossignol chantant.
La pointe du jour arrive, arrive,
Ce joli jour arrivera.

j. De matinet me vaig llevar,
De matinet que bon sol fa;
Sentô cantâ un rossinyol.[1]

But not only is the tradition very widespread in the modern chanson populaire, it can also be traced back without a break to the Middle Ages, the only differences being that the medieval versions are usually narrated in the third rather than the first person, that the central figure is practically always a woman, and that the jardin is replaced by the more aristocratic verkier, the boomgaerdekijn of Jôhans von Brabant, which in courtly lyric or romance was the accepted trysting-place for lovers. We may quote from the seventeenth century:-

Je me levay par un matin,
Que jour il n'estoit mie;
Je m'en entray dans nos jardins,
Pour cueillir la souci.[2]

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1. Version h: J. Tiersot, Chansons populaires des Alpes françaises, pp. 227, 230; i: E. Rolland, op. cit., I, p. 229; j: Canteloube, op. cit., I, p. 190 (Roussillon)

2. E. Rolland, op. cit., II, p. 238, from a version dated 1602 published in Rouen.

- from the sixteenth century:-

Hier au matin je me levay,
Au jardin de mon père entray ...
Trois fleurs d'amour je cueillay.[1]

Je m'y levai un jour de grand matin,
Je m'en entray dans nos joly jardin ...
Je rencontray roussignoulet joly.[2]

- from the fifteenth century:-

Un bieu matin me levay,
En un giardin m'en entray,
Tres rosetas la culhai,
Un chapelet en feraj,
A mon ami lo derai.[3]

M'y levay par ung matin,
Plus matin que ne souloye;
M'en entray en no jardin,
Pour cueillir la girouflade ...
Rencontray le rousignou,
Que estoit dessoubz l'ombrade.[4]

- from the fourteenth century:-

Jer matin je me levai,
Droit au point dou jour;
On vergier mon peire antrai,
Ki iert plains de flours.[5]

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1. K. Bartsch, "Französische Volkslieder des XVI. Jahrhunderts", p. 523, No. 4.

2. J.B. Weckerlin, Chansons populaires du pays de France (Paris 1903), Vol. II, p. 39.

3. R.A. Meyer, Französische Lieder (Halle 1907), p. 78.

4. G. Paris - A. Gevaert, Chansons du XVe siècle (SATF., Paris 1935), No. 104.

5. Fr. Gennrich, Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen, No. 230, from an Oxford MS. of the early fourteenth century in the Lorraine dialect.

- from the thirteenth century:-

En avril au tens pascour,
Que seur l'erbe nest la flor,
L'aloete au point du jour
Chante par mult grant baudor;
Pour la douçor
Au tens nouvel,
Si me levai par un matin,
(Si m'en antrai an un jardin)
S'oi chanter soz l'arbroisel
Un oiselet en son latin.[1]

Un petit devant le jor
Me levay l'autrier ...
M'en alai coillir la flor
De joste un vergier.[2]

Pour escouter le chant du roussignol,
Et pour desduire .i. matin me levai,
En .i. vergier m'en antrai.[3]

A still more striking instance of the popularity of this motif in the Middle Ages is the thirteenth-century passe-partout refrain "Bele Aelis", which was perhaps the most celebrated dance-hit (as we should say) of its time.[4]

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1. K. Bartsch, RP. I, 30b (l. 8 from version 30a).

2. Ibid., I, 38, 1ff.

3. G. Raynaud, op. cit., I, No. lxviii.

4. For a general account of "Bele Aelis", see J. Bédier "Les plus anciennes danses françaises" in the Revue des deux mondes (Ve. période, t. XXXI, 1906), pp. 421ff; G. Paris, Mélanges de littérature française du moyen âge (ed. Roques, Paris 1912), pp. 616ff.; P. Coirault, Formation de nos chansons folkloriques (Editions du scarabée, 1953), I, pp. 151ff.

Three versions of the music[1] and over twenty versions of the text[2] have been preserved, scattered through various song-collections or interpolated into other literary works. Two typical variants of the opening lines will serve by way of illustration:-

> Main se leva la bien faite Aelis ...
> Si s'en entra la bele en un gardin.[3]
>
> Bele Alis matin leva,
> Son oors vesti et para,
> En un vergier s'en entra.[4]

"Bele Aelis" was expanded into a dance-drama in dialogue form by the trouvère Baude de la Quariere,[5] introduced by poets into their romances[6] and by preachers into

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1. Gennrich, op. cit., I, pp. 3, 5, 84.

2. Assembled in Bartsch, RP, pp. 208ff., and Raynaud, op. cit., I, p. 70, and II, pp. 130ff., 138, 157, 163.

3. Bartsch, RP. II, 80.

4. Coirault, loc. cit., p. 152; see also Bartsch, RP. II, 85, Gennrich, op. cit., I, p. 12, Weckerlin, op. cit., Vol. I, p. xxxiii, and Lecoy de la Marche, loc. cit. inf., p. 92.

5. Bartsch, RP. I, 71; see also R. Meyer - J. Bédier - P. Aubry, La chanson de Bele Aelis par Baude de la Quariere (Paris 1904).

6. One variant is sung to the dance by the Duchess of Austria in Guillaume de Dôle (Le Roman de la Rose, ed. G. Servois, SATF., Paris 1893), 541ff. and another by the Countess of Champagne in Sone de Nansay, 10395ff.

their sermons,[1] even transformed into a religious contrafactura in praise of the Virgin.[2] And if, as Coirault maintains, it was indeed the original prototype of all the later songs containing "une poétique cueillette de rose ou de romarin faite par une Belle, levée tôt et descendue au jardin",[3] then, as we have seen, its repercussions have not even yet died away.[4] At the same time it was something essentially and exclusively French, which left no trace of its passage on the surrounding countries.[5]

Nor was the theme confined to lyric song alone. More than one of the French romance-writers has inserted into

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1. See Greene, The early English carols (Oxford 1935), Introd. pp. cxivf.; A. Lecoy de la Marche, La chaire française au moyen âge (2nd edn., Paris 1886), pp. 91ff. and 286; The Exempla of Jacques de Vitry (ed. T.F. Crane, Folk-lore Society Publications 26, London 1890), p. 114, No. CCLXXIII.

2. Coirault, loc. cit., p. 153, note 9.

3. Ibid., p. 151.

4. Ibid., pp. 152ff., where the development of the theme is traced with examples and bibliographical references up to the present century.

5. The melody, it is true, did transcend national boundaries; settings of it for several voices were made by Orlando di Lasso and other early polyphonic composers (Coirault, loc. cit., p. 152, notes 9-11).

his narrative a charming episode in which a poetic description of springtime is followed by a scene where the heroine rises at daybreak and repairs with her lover to a vergier.

One such interlude is the account of the meeting of Fresne and Galeran in Jean Renart's Galeran de Bretagne (1983ff.).[1] The reverdie follows the usual pattern: it is early in May (Ung pou aprés le jour de may 1983), the birds are singing joyously in the woods, the grass and flowers are springing in the meadows, the trees put out their new leaves in the warm sunshine, the fish swim happily in the clear streams,

1998 La violete est ou buisson,
Et la rose au matin ouverte.

Amid this universal rejoicing:-

2000 Est Fresne qui tant est apperte
Matin levee et hors yssue.

Her lover is waiting for her and, after a long digression (2002-61), in which the appearance and dress of the pair are described with the most elaborate minuteness, they go together to a secluded garden:-

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1. Ed. L. Foulet (Class. fr. d.m.a., Paris 1925).

2069 Prennent vers ung vergier leu voye,
Pour ce qu'on ne cougnoisse et voye
La grant amour qui les espreut,

and the writer pauses once more to give a detailed picture (2077-99) of this idyllic pleasance, with its singing birds, its fresh verdure, its crystal spring of water, and its hushed intimacy, as the perfect setting for the joys of love.

A similar passage occurs in Chrétien's Cligès,[1] where Fenice, hearing the song of the nightingale one morning in early summer (au novelemant d'esté ..., 6350ff.) goes out to meet her lover and begs him to build for her a vergier where the two of them may take their pleasure together (6359ff.). This is done, and after the garden and its enclosing wall have been described (6400ff.) we are told how

6420 La sont a joie et a delit.

A place so constantly associated with the felicity of happy lovers stirred up very different thoughts and memories in those who for any reason were less fortunate. Thus Guillaume de Nevers, the hero of Flamenca,[2] lying solitary

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1. Ed. W. Forster (2nd edn., Halle 1901).
2. Ed. P. Meyer (2nd edn., Paris 1901).

one Eastertide (2024) pining for his heart's desire, hears an oriole singing at dawn (2027ff.) and is overcome by melancholy reflections (2035ff.); later the same day he goes out into the garden (2332ff.) and brooding on his love as he listens to the song of the nightingale, the sweetness of which pierces him to the quick (2351), he falls into a rêverie so profound that he is blind and deaf to everything round him (2349ff.). Those unhappy in love might also be pictured at their window, looking out into a springtime world whose beauty and joy contrasted so painfully with their own desolate plight. More than one of the chansons d'histoire opens with the figure of a lovelorn girl at her casement:

> Bele Erembors a la fenestre au jor
> Sor ses genolz tient paile de color.[1]
>
> Bele Doette as fenestres se siet,
> Lit en un livre, mais au cuer ne l'en tient:
> De son ami Doon li ressovient ...[2]

- and Nicolette assumes the same posture as she laments her separation from Aucassin:-

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1. Bartsch, RF. I, l. 7f.
2. Bartsch, RF. I, 3.1ff.

A la fenestre marbrine
La s'apoia la mescine ...
Esguarda par la gaudine,
Et vit la rose espanie,
Et les oisax qui se crient ...[1]

The motif persists even in French folk-song:-

Petite Claudinette
Trop matin s'est levée ...
S'appuie sur sa fenêtre.[2]

It is a convincingly natural expression of longing and regret, especially for those who feel themselves doubly pent-up, in that their physical, no less than their emotional, liberty is subject to some real or fancied restraint; on this account, perhaps, it is most commonly attributed in medieval poetry to a woman, as the author of Moriz von Craûn (or, as seems more likely, his source) points out:-

1705 In ein venster sie gestuont,
als senendiu wîp ofte tuont,
den leit von liebe ist geschehen:
diu muoz man trûrende sehen.

But though true to life in a realistic sense, the attitude was invested with another and a deeper truth. For in

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1. Aucassin et Nicolette, ed. M. Roques (Class. fr. d.m.a., Paris 1925), p. 4, V, 5ff. Cf. also Marie de France, Eliduc 331ff. (Die Lais der Marie de France, ed. K. Warnke, Halle 1900), where the lovesick Guilliadun after a sleepless night rises early and stands at her window lamenting her predicament.

2. Ed. Rolland, op. cit., II, p. 38.

typical medieval fashion it was doubtless felt to be poetically and symbolically appropriate that those who were cut off from the delights of love should also be denied access to the scene of those delights, like souls shut out of paradise. So for the countess in Moriz von Craûn the boumgarten with its bower which was to have witnessed the fruition of love (1092ff.) is not merely a reminder of her loss, but a symbol of everything from which, by her own fault, she is now banished. True, the text does not explicitly state that she is gazing out over a garden-close rather than over the open field (über heide), like the lady in Dietmar von Eist's Falkenlied, yet the context strongly suggests this. Moreover, there is independent evidence to show that the loube (1703) - a balcony-like structure, with climbing plants trained round the window-arches to form a species of indoor arbour - normally gave inwards on to the castle enclosure, not outwards on to the surrounding countryside, where it would have presented a vulnerable target in case of attack.[1] The implications of the passage

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1. Cf. F. von der Hagen, Gesammtabentauer (Stuttgart 1850), No. XXV, Die Nachtigall, 61ff.: Vor dem hûse ein boumgarte lak, / dar umb gieng ein vestez hak / dâ mit er bevridet was; / beide bluomen unde gras / man dar inne stehen sach ... / nû hâte der wirt ouch dâ vor / gebûwet ein louben hôch enbor. Examples of these arcaded window-embrasures overlooking the inner courtyard can still be seen today in many castles, both in this country and on the Continent.

become still more plain when it is set alongside an episode from Galeran de Bretagne in which the hero, now parted from Fresne, goes and sits alone at the window of a loge,[1] looking down into the garden below, listening to the song of the birds and weeping as he calls to mind happy hours spent in another vergier with his beloved:-

5268 De la chambre se part a tant,
Que plus demourer ne li siet,
Et en une loge s'assiet
A une fenestre de marbre;
S'esgarde en un vergier meint arbre,
Et les oyseaux qui y font feste.
Des biaux yeulx pleure de sa teste,
Car du vergier de Biausejour
Li souvint ou il fu maint jour
A grans deduis avec s'amie.

Any type of literature which, like that of the Middle Ages, is guided by custom and precedent, rather than by free impulse and intuition, will shrink from taking advantage of the endless variety of choice at its disposal and tend instead to concentrate on a few recurrent modes of expression that rely for their effect not on the impact of novelty, but on a certain aura of familiar association. A whole range of human experience can thus become crystallized in a single concept, selected in preference to all

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1. The French loge, like the Italian loggia, is in fact derived from the same Germanic root which has given MHG. loube.

the other possible alternatives on grounds which even in their own day seem to defy rational explanation. The context we have been discussing is of this nature. Innumerable images could have been evoked to epitomise the torments of love-longing, yet for some reason this particular one established itself in France as the most satisfying and the most representative. We cannot begin to guess at the precise literary or emotional overtones which commended it to the French poets and their audiences, nor can we tell why an image which exercised so strong an appeal in France failed to exercise any comparable appeal in Germany. We can only say, on the basis of the surviving evidence, that such was apparently the case.

The same thing is true of yet another tiny but revealing detail in the passage under discussion. As the countess listens to the nightingale she rests her cheek on her hand:-

1710 ir wîse hant wol getân
leite si an das wange
und lôste dem vogelsange.

Here again what appears to be no more than a touch of straightforward realism proves on closer investigation to be alive with meaning. In a sense the gesture is natural, almost instinctive; but spontaneous movement can also

become isolated and stiffened into a ritual form. In real life this seems to have been one of those prescribed attitudes which played such an important part in fashionable etiquette during the Middle Ages. It grew still more mannered by dint of constant repetition in pictorial art,[1] and numerous instances might be quoted from medieval miniature-painting and sculpture.[2] In the same way it could become a literary formula. Up to a point there is no distinction between France and Germany in this respect.

Among German examples one may cite the well-known lines where Walther von der Vogelweide describes himself sitting on a stone and brooding over the political ills of his time:-

> ich hete in mîn hant gesmogen,
> daz kinne und ein mîn wange.[3]

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1. Cf. E. Panofsky, Albrecht Dürer (London 1947), I, 162: "That she (i.e. Melancholia) rests her head on her hand is in keeping with a tradition which can be traced back to ancient Egyptian art. As the expression of brooding thought, fatigue or sorrow, this attitude is found in hundreds of thousands of figures and has become a standing attribute of melancholy or 'Acedia'".

2. For instance, the figure known as "Der Skeptiker" from the choir-stalls of Cologne Cathedral, the group of Job's friends from the tympanum of the right door of the North portal at Chartres, a similar miniature from the Admont Bible in the Vienna Nationalbibliothek, and the portrait miniatures of Walther von der Vogelweide in the Manesse and Weingarten Codices.

3. Walther's first song in the so-called "Reichston" (Walther's Gedichte, ed. C. v. Kraus, Berlin 1950, 8, 7f.).

- or the account of the shame and remorse of the hero's father in Hartmann's Gregorius:-

> er begunde sêre weinen,
> das houbet underleinen
> so riuweclîchen mit der hant,
> als dem es ze sorgen ist gewant.[1]

- or the picture of the jâmerhafte künegîn in Konrad von Würzburg's Partonopier und Meliûr:-

> ir wängel rôt mit wîser hant
> begundes underleinen.[2]

In France too it is a standard token of a sad or pensive frame of mind. Even in a chanson de geste like Raoul de Cambrai we are told how the grievously wounded Aliaume retires from the fight and sits down apart:-

> Atant s'aissit, sa main a sa maissele.[3]

The same phrase is used in Chrétien's Cligès of Soredamors:-

> 1378 A sa meissele a sa main mise
> Et semble que mout soit pansis;

and in the Roman de Dolopathos of the king who is plunged into despair by the news that his son has lost the power of speech:-

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1. Ed. F. Beech (Deutsche Klassiker des Mittelalters, Leipzig 1891), 457ff.
2. Ed. K. Bartsch (Vienna 1871), 8034f.
3. Ed. P. Meyer - A. Longnon (SATF., Paris 1882), 4699.

3552 Lors croist ces dubz et renovèle,
Dont met sa main a sa messèle.

So far there is little to choose between the two countries from the point of view of Moriz von Craûn, but the balance seems to be tipped conclusively in favour of France by sundry passages, occurring only in French courtly poetry, where this motif is linked, as it is in our text, with the whole complex of ideas suggested by the vergier as the garden of love. There is, for instance, the chanson d'histoire which begins:-

En un vergier lez une fontenele ...
Sist fille a roi, sa main a sa maxele,
En sospirant son douz ami rapele.[1]

- or the scene from Sone de Nansay where the hero in a mood of grief and perplexity induced by unhappy love falls as though mechanically into the same posture:-

2612 Et Sones va esbanoijer;
En .i. vregier en est entrés,
U il avoit arbres assés ...

2618 Sa main a sa massielle mist,
Con chilz qui ne se set aidier
Ne lui ne autrui conseillier.

The numerous analogies which have been traced in the foregoing pages make it plain beyond a doubt that as far as this section of Moriz von Craûn is concerned the poet is

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1. Bartsch, RF., I, 9, 1-4.

not only following his source but following it with remarkable fidelity. Contrary to his usual habit he does not attempt to remodel or interpret his material. He is content to render it briefly and directly into his own native tongue, and by so doing he enables us to glimpse more clearly than any other portion of the lost French text that episode which, we may surmise, formed the original conclusion of the story.

We have now reconstructed with a fair degree of certainty the framework of the narrative as it stood in the original French version, corresponding roughly to lines 263-288 and 417-1725 of the German redaction. It was a lively and forthright tale, based on a problem of courtly love arising from a series of unusual but by no means incredible circumstances. Yet though the plot may well have been built up in various stages it was anything but shapeless or incoherent; it might indeed be defined as a miniature five-act drama:-

Act I - the exposition: the lovers are introduced.
Act II - the development: the knight earns his reward.
Act III - the crisis: the knight is rejected.
Act IV - the climax: the knight takes his revenge.
Act V - the epilogue: the lady is left lamenting.

The same feeling for structural balance governs the pattern whereby interest is focussed on each of the two principal characters in turn:-

In I the lady dominates the scene as the object of the knight's devotion and service.

In II the central figure is the knight, who is shown in action, while the lady is a mere spectator of his exploits.

In III it is the lady who decides the course of events, while the knight is quiescent in sleep.

In IV the knight is shown once again in action of a very different kind, while the lady is his passive victim.

In V the lady remains behind on the stage to ring down the final curtain.

No less symmetrical is the alternation between the stretches of relatively static subject-matter and the interludes of energetic activity. Thus I, III and V consist for the most part of soliloquy, dialogue, reflection or description, while II (apart from the account of the hero's tourneying equipment) and IV are largely occupied with deeds and events.

When one adds to all this the closely-woven texture of the composition and the masterly use of irony and contrast to sharpen the point at issue, it is hard not to feel that such a tale, if only for the excellence of its construction, deserved a better fate than the obscurity into which it has vanished.

4.

"Fine amours claimme en moi par hiretage
Droit: s'est raisons, quar bien et loiaument
L'ont servie de Creon, lor aage,
Li bon seigneur, qui tindrent ligement
Pris et valour et tout enseignement."

By definition the Novelle purports to relate something "new", and although, as we have seen, the action of Moriz von Craûn is composed of elements which can be traced back to quite primitive times, the author claims that it all took place within recent memory. His deist niht lange in line 263 tallies with the n'a pas lonc tans in line 5 of Le Chevalier qui recevra l'amor de sa dame, and so is probably derived from the French source, but phrases such as these are a universal trick to catch the attention of the reader or listener at the outset with a promise of freshness and topicality.[1]

The Novelle also purports to relate something which, though admittedly exceptional, actually has or could have

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1. We find them constantly in the fabliau, as in MR., No. LXXXIII, 13; Avint, n'a pas .I. an entier; in the chanson, as in Bartsch, RP., I, 62, 1f: L'autrier aving en cel autre pais / C'uns chevaliers et une dame amee; in balladry, like the German: Es ist nicht lang, dass es geschah, / Dass man den Lindenschmid reiten sah (Uhland's Volkslieder, No. 139, 1f.); and in more modern works, such as La Fontaine's: Vous saurez qui naguère / Dans la Touraine un jeune bachelier ..." (Oeuvres, ed. H. Regnier, Paris 1890: Contes et Nouvelles, V, 1,18f.).

happened in real life, and one simple way of giving an air of veracity to a fictitious anecdote is to introduce factual details like names of people or places. Accordingly the hero and heroine of our poem - the only characters indeed to shed their anonymity - are identified with two historical personages of twelfth-century France: the Seigneur Maurice de Craon and the Vicomtesse de Beaumont.[1]

The lords of Craon were among the most illustrious and powerful magnates of the province of Anjou.[2] They were allied, both by marriage and by distant ties of kinship, to the royal houses of England and France, and they continued to hold positions of trust near the throne till the family died out in the male line at the end of the fifteenth century. Their seat of Château-Gontier was situated near the little town of Craon on the river Oudon in the department of Mayenne, and their hereditary blason, lozengy or and gules, dates from the last third of the twelfth century.[3] Like many other nobles whose estates

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1. Her christian name we never learn, and the German poet mistakenly gives her the rank of a countess (_graevinne_), instead of a viscountess.

2. Bertrand de Broussillon, _La Maison de Craon, 1050-1480_ (Paris 1893), 2 vols., traces the history of the line in very full detail.

3. Though the armorial bearings of the hero are mentioned more than once in the course of the poem they are not explicitly specified.

lay within the Plantagenet dominions in France they had close connexions with England, and offshoots of the family migrated at different periods across the Channel, obtaining, under the name of Croun or Crohun, fiefs near Boston in Lincolnshire and in Surrey.

For the scions of this house the name Maurice was a traditional choice, perhaps due to the fact that St. Mauritius was one of the patrons of the province,[1] and between 1116 and 1250 it was borne by no fewer than five Seigneurs de Craon, a circumstance which has led to a good deal of confusion as to the precise identity of our hero. It is now generally accepted that he is Maurice II, the son of Hugues de Craon, who was born about 1130 and succeeded to the seigniory in 1150. His career coincided with the rise to power of the house of Anjou, with whose fortunes his own were closely linked. As one of Henry II's most influential vassals he not only fought in his suzerain's wars but was also employed on a number of diplomatic missions. Thus on September 21st, 1177 he was one of three barons delegated to negotiate the peace of Yvry,[2] and in 1180 he

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1. The cathedral of Angers is dedicated to this saint.
2. Roger de Hoveden, Chronica (Rolls Edn.), II, p. 145.

was entrusted with the task of renewing the same treaty;[1] he is again mentioned as one of the mediators between the King and his rebellious sons in 1183.[2] Several times we find his name among the lists of witnesses to documents of state, such as the peace treaty of Falaise in 1174.[3] He seems to have been a member of Henry's immediate personal entourage, and "Monseingnor Moris de Creon" appears in line 9307 of the Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal[4] as one of the faithful few who attended the Old King on his deathbed in 1189. Round about the year 1168 he went on Crusade, and after his return in 1170 he married Isabelle, daughter of Walerand de Meulan and widow of Geoffroy IV de Mayenne.[5] Towards the end of his life he took the Cross

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1. Ibid., II, p. 199.

2. Ibid., II, p. 277.

3. See below, p. 94.

4. L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, comte de Striguil et de Pembroke, ed. P. Meyer (Paris 1891-1901), Vol. 1, p. 336, Vol. 3, p. 117.

5. We may note that one chronicle speaks of the lady as "dite 'de Beaumont'" (Schroeder, Introduction to Moriz von Craûn, edn. of 1894, p. xxi, quotes as his source the Dictionnaire de la noblesse, VI, p. 440). It is tempting, but quite useless, to speculate about the meaning of this sobriquet.

once again, and accompanied Richard the Lionheart to the Holy Land in 1190. He returned safely a second time to his native province, founded there a priory for the benefit of his soul, and died on July 12th 1196.[1] His widow survived him for many years, dying as late as 1220. In his day he seems to have been regarded with high esteem, not merely on account of his rank, but for his chivalric virtues - and perhaps for his literary talents as well.[2]

His eldest son, also named Maurice, succeeded him for a short period as head of the family, and on the premature death of Maurice III in 1207 the title passed to his younger brother Amaury I, under whom the lords of Craon were created hereditary seneschals of Anjou, Touraine and Maine. Amaury's son, Maurice IV, who succeeded him in

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1. For a more detailed account of his life and character, see de Broussillon, op. cit., pp. 71-120.

2. The five songs variously attributed to Maurice, Pierre and Amaury de Craon in the different MSS. have been subjected to a most penetrating analysis by A. Langfors in Les chansons attribuées aux seigneurs de Craon (Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsingfors, VI, 1917, pp. 41ff.). The authorship of three of these songs is very doubtful, but Langfors concludes that of the remaining two, one (A l'entrant del doux termine, quoted p. 64) can be ascribed with some certainty to Maurice II, while the second, which begins with the lines cited at the head of this section, was probably written by Pierre, the second son of Maurice II.

1226, was an ardent jouster and is known to have taken part in the famous international tournament of Compiègne in February 1239.[1]

The Viscounts of Beaumont, whose seat lay at Beaumont-sur-Sarthe, were neighbours of the lords of Craon on the east. Their estates actually adjoined each other and there were many links between the two households. The particular Vicomte who was contemporary with Maurice II de Craon, and who is therefore cast for the thankless rôle of the husband in our poem, was a certain Richard, of whose wife unfortunately nothing is known. Husband and lover appear quite frequently side by side in the records of the time. "Mor(icius) de Creona" and "Ric(ardus) de Bellemonte vic(ecomes)" were fellow-witnesses to the peace of Falaise in 1174,[2] and another royal edict dated 1180 is likewise attested by a group of nobles among whom are listed "Mauricius de Creon" and "Ricardus vicecomes Bellomontis".[3]

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1. It may conceivably have been on this occasion that the story about his grandfather's adventures in love reached the ears of the German poet, or his patron.

2. Rymer, Foedera, etc. (1704), I, 38.

3. J.H. Round, Calendar of documents preserved in France illustrative of the history of Great Britain and Ireland (London 1899), p. 417, No. 1158.

One of Maurice II's grandsons was put under the guardianship of Richard's son, Raoul III de Beaumont,[1] and in 1201 Raoul de Beaumont and Maurice III de Craon acted as joint sureties for Juhel de Mayenne in his oath of allegiance to King John,[2] while in 1210 Raoul de Beaumont had Amaury I de Craon as his own surety in swearing fealty to the King of France.[3]

The direct male Beaumont line became extinct in 1249, but it was revived by Robert de Brienne, who took the style of Robert I de Beaumont, and the two families continued to run alongside each other till the fifteenth century. In the late thirteenth century there were various marriage alliances between them.[4] Some thirty years later we read that:- "Madame Marie de Craon, fille de monsieur Morice, sire de Craon ... et femme de monsieur Robert de Beaumont ... trespassa le 21e jour d'aoust l'an 1322".[5] Again, on March 11th, 1338, the marriage contract between Guy de Laval

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1. De Broussillon, op. cit., I, p. 88.
2. Ibid., I, p. 121.
3. Ibid., I, p. 132.
4. Ibid., I, p. 211.
5. Ibid., I, p. 230.

and Isabeau de Craon was ratified "entre nobles hommes et puissantz, le vicomte de Beaumont, Pierres de Craon, et monsieur Guillaume de Craon et monsieur Guillaume de Beaumont."[1]

Three times in Le Petit Jehan de Saintré, written by Antoine de la Sale between 1453-56, we find the names of Craon and Beaumont coupled together. When the hero is engaged in a tournament at the French court, he is made to anticipate the Vicomte de Beaumont, the Seigneur de Craon and the Seigneur de Vergy in obtaining the honour of opening the joust against a formidable opponent from Poland.[2] Where a crusade is being organized against the "Prussians", the Angevin forces are led by "le vicomte de Beaumont et messire Hue de Craon".[3] When Jehan has publicly exposed the disgrace of La Dame des Belles Cousines, among the ladies who pass sentence of condemnation on her are "les dames de Beaumont et de Craon".[4]

There is nothing inherently improbable in the notion that at some time during the later twelfth century two members of neighbouring aristocratic families should have

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1. Ibid., I, p. 360.
2. Le Petit Jehan de Saintré (ed. P. Champion - F. Desonay, Paris 1926-27), p. 208.
3. Ibid., p. 269.
4. Ibid., p. 414.

entered upon a courtly love relationship, and it may well be that between Maurice de Craon, who was a prominent figure in public affairs, and the wife of Richard de Beaumont there existed an ostensibly secret intrigue which would, of course, immediately become common knowledge. Nevertheless it is most unlikely that the events of our poem are, in any literal sense of the word, true. This is certainly not, as G. Paris suggests,[1] because the French poets would have been deterred either by prohibitions from above or by their own natural delicacy from publishing indiscreet gossip about the nobility and their amours during the lifetime of the persons concerned. On the contrary, as we shall show, they did not scruple for a moment to circulate the most audacious tales about people who were still alive or only recently dead. If Moriz von Craûn strikes the reader as fable rather than fact, it is partly because the principal elements in the plot - the falling asleep and consequent rejection of the lover, the revenant, the scorner scorned - are all ancient and world-wide motifs, and have

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1. The objections raised by G. Paris in his review of Schroeder's 1894 edition of Moriz von Craûn (Romania 23, 1894, pp. 466-474) were refuted by Schroeder in an article published in ZfdA. 43, 1899, pp. 261ff. and again in his introduction to the revised edition of 1913, pp. 25f.

plainly become attached as an afterthought to historical personalities rather than vice versa; and partly because the poem is too neatly rounded-off, too symmetrical, too obviously contrived as a moral lesson, for it to be a simple record of reality.

This trick of embellishing fictitious narratives with a sprinkling of historical names seems to have been a minor literary fashion in France during the post-classical period of chivalry. It made the story at once more piquant and more convincing at a time when piquancy and realism were increasingly in vogue. There is one branch of courtly fiction peculiar to France where it is especially common: the romans mondains, the "society romances", "ces oeuvres si fines et si françaises", as Langlois calls them.[1] These tales - Guillaume de Dôle, Flamenca, Galeran de Bretagne, Sone de Nansay, Joufrois,[2] Foulko Fitzwarin,[3] Le chastelain de Coucy,[4] La chastelaine de Vergy,[5] La comtesse d'Anjou,[6]

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1. C.V. Langlois, La Vie en France au Moyen Age d'après des romans mondains du temps (Paris 1926), p. xxviii.
2. Ed. W.O. Streng-Henkonen (Turku: Annales Universitatis Aboensis, Ser. B., Vol. XII, 1930).
3. Ed. L. Brandin (Class. fr. d.m.a., Paris 1930).
4. Ed. J.E. Matzke - M. Delbouille (SATF., Paris 1936).
5. Ed. G. Raynaud - L. Foulet (Class. fr. d.m.a., Paris 1921).
6. Ed. M. Roques (Class. fr. d.m.a., Paris 1931), as Le Roman du Comte d'Anjou.

Le chevalier blanc,[1] Le chevalier à la manche,[2] Jehan et Blonde,[3] and one or two others - combine a romantic plot with a realistic contemporary setting. Some have a bias towards sentiment and psychological analysis, with long digressions and monologues on the nature of love and the problems of the heart; others prefer to concentrate on action and external décor; but most of them preserve a more or less equal balance between the two, and taken together they give a uniquely vivid impression of aristocratic life and thought in thirteenth-century France.

It is significant that practically every one of these romances (the chief exception is La comtesse d'Anjou) has the same general provenance and setting: the eastern and north-eastern marches of France, or Flanders - that is, the same region to which we find our attention repeatedly drawn in connexion with Moriz von Craûn. Jean Renart, the author of Guillaume de Dôle and perhaps of Galeran de Bretagne,[4]

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1. Ed. A. Scheler, Brussels 1867-8 (Langlois, op. cit., pp. 323ff.).
2. Ed. A. Scheler, Brussels 1867-8 (Langlois, op. cit., pp. 329ff.).
3. Ed. H. Suchier (SATF., Paris 1884-5), Vol. II.
4. The other works of Jean Renart, L'escoufle and the Lai de l'Ombre, though concerned like the rest with contemporary life and manners, lie rather outside the scope of the present discussion.

was a Picard, like the "Jakemes" of Le Chastelain de Coucy (who is perhaps to be identified with the Jacques Bretiex of the Tournoi de Chauvency[1]), and Philippe de Rémi, the author of Jehan et Blonde. Jean de Condé, who wrote Le chevalier blanc and Le chevalier à la manche, came from the Valenciennes area. La chastelaine de Vergy was written by a Burgundian, Sone de Nansay, according to different critics, by either a Picard or a Fleming. Joufrois probably came from Franche-Comté. Flamenca remains a mystery, because of the languedoc dialect of the sole surviving MS., but though the main action is located on Franco-Provençal territory, some of the episodes and above all the name of the heroine (Flamenca = la Flamande) point to Flanders.

Again, a surprisingly high proportion of them introduce into their plot characters from recent or contemporary history: royal personages, like Henry I and II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine in Joufrois, or the German Emperor Conrad in Guillaume de Dôle; noble lords or ladies, like Duke Hugues IV of Burgundy, Laure de Lorraine and Béatrice de Champagne, who are the principal actors in the tragedy

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1. Ed. M. Delbouille (Bibl. de la Fac. de Phil. et Lettres de l'Univ. de Liège, XLIX), Liège 1932.

of La chastelaine de Vergy; and other members of the knightly class, who may appear briefly in the background (the lists of tourneying knights in both Flamenca and Guillaume de Dôle contain many historical names), or may be given the star part, like Guillaume de Dôle, originally a native of Franche-Comté.

Occasionally the rôle assigned to them is a flattering one, perhaps intended to please some patron, but elsewhere, as in the case of the Don Juan adventures of Joufrois (Gui-Geoffroi de Poitiers?) at the English court, or - allowing for considerable liberties with historical fact - the triangle drama at the Burgundian court in La chastelaine de Vergy, it is of such a daring and equivocal nature that we can only marvel at the effrontery of the writer in thus making free with the names of well-known men and women who at that date may still have been living. It is true that probably little more than a name is involved. We see at once how deceptive this air of historicity can be when we try, say, to establish the exact identity of the Gui de Nemours, the Archimbaut de Bourbon and the Guillaume de Nevers of Flamenca. The names sound authentic enough, but the facts simply do not fit in. As regards their subject-matter, these romances are in all likelihood pure fabrication. La chastelaine de Vergy may be a genuine roman à

clef, inspired by a notorious scandal in high life, but the theme is suspiciously balladesque. Some of the plots are clearly recognisable as typical "universal" motifs (Le chastelain de Coucy and the Eaten Heart, Joufrois and the Slandered Queen, and so forth), on to which has been arbitrarily grafted a set of dramatis personae drawn from real life.

In one case at least, Le chastelain de Coucy, the hero is a poet.[1] Works such as this, or the frankly apocryphal biographies of the Provençal troubadours (one thinks, for example, of the well-known story of Jaufré Rudel and the lady of Tripoli), argue that in France there was a tendency for poets, especially those of noble birth, to become a legend within that class of society to which they belonged and for which they wrote. And in their own generation the loves of Maurice de Craon and the Vicomtesse de Beaumont may have been scarcely less celebrated than the loves of Guy de Coucy and the Dame de Fayel.[2]

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1. Guy de Coucy, d. 1203. The troubadour Marcabru also appears as a very subordinate character both in Flamenca and in Joufrois.

2. One or two interesting textual parallels may be remarked between Le chastelain de Coucy and Moriz von Craûn, such as the panegyric of the hero with which both poems open: e.g. Coucy 61ff. Biaus fu, courtois, plains de savoir ..., and Moriz von Craûn 283ff. schoene und wol gezogen / und aller dinge unbetrogen, / hövesch unde wise ...

Why this should have happened we have no means of knowing. Maurice's few surviving verses contain no personal allusion, no distinctive note, which might have encouraged the growth of romantic tradition. Nor does Moriz von Craûn, at any rate in its existing form, give the slightest hint that the knight is a singer too. But in life he must have been a man of commanding personality and many-sided gifts,[1] whose reputation both among his contemporaries and with posterity could very easily swell from sober report through rumour into fantasy.

A few tiny clues do in fact suggest that the story of our poem was well-known in those parts of France which most nearly concern us here. Thus, as we have seen, Chapter XLVIII of Le Petit Jehan de Saintré, which was written either for Louis of Luxemburg or for John of Calabria, later Duke of Lorraine, mentions the lords of Craon and Beaumont in the same breath as the lord of Vergy, a name inseparably linked with romance. Again in Flamenca Guillaume de Nevers gives out that he is in love with "la bella de Belmont"

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1. To quote the words of Schroeder on p. 23 of the introduction to the edition of 1913:- "Die glänzendste Gestalt aber in der vierhundertjährigen Geschichte des Hauses Craon ist Moriz II, der Held unserer Novelle: Krieger und Staatsmann, Sammler von Reliquien und Liebespfändern, Kreuzfahrer und Minnesänger."

(7097) in order to divert the suspicions of the jealous husband, and he manages to convey messages to his beloved under cover of this disguise; when the pair meet, Flamenca, who is a party to the ruse (7168ff.), pretends to accuse him of fickleness, and he laughingly repudiates the charge:- Ma douza reg, cil de Belmont / Tam bona e tam bella es / Que de nulla re meins nom pes (7406ff.). Unfortunately, just when the author seems about to explain this choice of name, there is a lacuna in the MS., but the whole incident implies that in the parlance of courtly love "the lady of Beaumont" had become an accepted term for a liege-mistress.

The fact that the original French version of Moriz von Craûn has now disappeared presents no real obstacle to such a view, for the transmission of the romans mondains is precarious in the extreme. Though the genre must have been fashionable for a while, it never took permanent root. Perhaps in the long run these poems shocked public taste a little by their boldness, perhaps the topical flavour prevented their appeal from being anything more than ephemeral, perhaps their touch of modernity clashed with orthodox medieval conceptions of romance - whatever the reason, it is clear that they failed to gain widespread or lasting popularity. There are several MSS. of La chastelaine de

Vergy and two of Le chastelain de Coucy.[1] Most of the others are preserved in unique, often fragmentary, MSS. scattered over Western Europe from Carcassonne to Copenhagen. One or two, like Foulke Fitswarin and Le comte d'Artois exist only in late and inferior redactions. Many, including maybe other specimens of trouvère legend, must have perished entirely, as our text would have done were it not for the chance survival, in one single late MS., of the German translation.[2]

The identity of the lovers in Moriz von Craûn is, beyond any shadow of doubt, a trait which the German poet took over from his source. Apart from the spelling of the names Craûn and Bêâmunt, which are unmistakably French in

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1. These two tales were the only ones of the group to achieve a measure of fame outside the borders of France; both were translated widely into other languages. Cf. E. Lorenz, Die Kastellanin von Vergi in den Literaturen Frankreichs, Italiens, der Niederlande, Englands und Deutschlands (Halle 1909).

2. Langlois, op. cit., p. xxii, note 3: "Ne sont pas compris dans ce décompte les lais et les romans qui ne sont plus connus que par des traces indirectes. Un des plus regrettables est le roman dont Maurice de Craon, un des principaux barons de l'Anjou sous Henri II Plantagenêt et son fils, était le héros, et dont il n'existe plus qu'un écho dénaturé dans un poème allemand", and p. 212, note 1, à propos of La chastelaine de Vergy: "Il y a lieu de croire que le roman perdu ... dont le sujet était l'amour de Maurice de Craon pour la vicomtesse de Beaumont mettait également en scène des personnages vivants, dans des postures qui ne pouvaient manquer d'être désagréables à leurs familles".

origin and based on written forms, not on casual hearsay or guesswork, there is no conceivable reason why he should have gone to Anjou for his hero and heroine rather than to some less distant region of France or to his own native land.

More important still, the two countries seem to have differed radically in their attitude towards the poets of the chivalric age. The troubadours and trouvères of France were celebrated in the literature of court and castle and have left no discernible trace on the traditions of the common people; the German Minnesänger, conversely, never became legendary figures within their own class,[1] but passed instead into popular mythology and folk-ballad.[2] Although the tale of the Eaten Heart, related in France of Guy de Coucy and in Provence of the troubadour Guilhem de Cabestanh, has in Germany likewise become attached to the person of a poet, the Bavarian Heinmar von Brennenberg (d. 1275), it is in folksong, not courtly romance, that his

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1. There is nothing in Germany that corresponds, for instance, to the Provençal troubadour biographies.

2. The question of the poet as hero is treated in detail by F. Rostock, Dichterheldensage (Hermaea XV, Halle 1925).

fate is commemorated.[1] Other still more famous examples of Minnesänger who mysteriously contrived to capture the popular imagination are Tannhäuser (c. 1240-1270)[2] and Heinrich von Morungen (d. 1222);[3] and many other similar tales may once have existed that never attracted the interest of the ballad-singer and are now irrecoverably lost.[4] But nowhere, except in Moriz von Craün, do we find a poet elevated to the dignity of a hero by those who were at once his admirers and his social equals.

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1. Variants of the ballad of "Der schöne Bremberger" (sometimes corrupted to Brandenburger, Brunenburgh, etc.) are published in Uhland's Volkslieder, No. 75, A-C, and in F. Böhme's Altdeutsches Liederbuch (Leipzig 1877), No. 23.

2. For the Tannhäuser legend, see R.M. Meyer "Tannhäuser und die Tannhäusersage", (Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde, 21, 1911, pp. 1ff.).

3. For the ballad of "Der edle Moringer", see F.Vogt "Der edele Moringer" (PBB. 12, 1887, pp. 431ff.) and E. Schroeder "Das Lied des Möringers" (ZfdA., 43, 1899, pp. 184ff.). It is interesting to note that another Minnesänger, Gottfried von Neifen, appears in this ballad as "Moringer's" rival in love.

4. The miniatures of the Manesse Codex (e.g. that of Dietmar von Eist) often appear to hint at some unknown and undiscoverable tradition connected with the poet in question.

II. ALLUSIONS TO PERSONS AND PLACES

"O, this learning, what a thing it is!"[1]

Categorical proof is naturally not to be hoped for, but in the light of all that has been said above we may assume that the basic structure of Moris von Craûn has been taken over by the German poet from his source largely unaltered except for a tendency to linger over the more reflective and moralizing portions. To this solid core of substance he has added a good deal of supplementary matter, based either on his knowledge of contemporary literature or on the body of general lore current in his day or on his own private thoughts and feelings. Here and there the accretions are palpably obvious, elsewhere they are much more open to doubt, and every inch of this debatable ground has been contested by the different editors and critics of the text with arguments that can no more be vindicated than they can be overthrown. Nor are the difficulties lessened by the fact that many key words and

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1. The Taming of the Shrew, I, 2.

lines in the MS. are so corrupt that emendation becomes a matter for random conjecture rather than scientific deduction.

It is in the first place impossible to reach any final verdict about the provenance of the various allusions to people and places which are scattered through the poem. The greater part of them are concentrated within two long descriptive passages, the account of the ship on wheels[1] (627-696, 859-890), and that of the Countess' bed (1110-1172),[2] both of which almost certainly existed in the French source and both of which were probably amplified by the German translator.

The four geographical names introduced between lines 641 and 688 do not point unmistakably in any one direction. The writer is personally inclined to think that the German poet was responsible for the references to Cologne (641) and the Maas and Rhine (688),[3] and that the mention of

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1. See below, Chapter Four, pp. 518ff.

2. See below, Chapter Three, p.424.

3. These three names occur repeatedly in the writings of Heinrich von Veldeke with which our poet was undoubtedly familiar, and for which he had a high admiration (cf. especially the Servatius, ed. P. Piper, Kürschners D.N.L., Höfische Epik I, Stuttgart n.d., pp. 81ff.).

Flanders in connexion with the cloth-trade (657)[1] occurred already in the original version; but all such conclusions are bound to be of the most tentative order. St. Brandan and his voyagings (884) had passed into the vernacular tradition of both countries alike long before the close of the twelfth century, while the figure of Antichrist (886) was familiar throughout Christendom, though references to Antichrist in secular literature are perhaps more characteristic for France than for Germany.[2]

The second group of allusions raises even more complex problems. To begin with, the MS. reading Holtz von Bulcanus.das nicht/verprynnen kan (1122f.) is plainly corrupt. Both Schroeder and Pretzel emend Bulcanus to Vulcânus, but each interprets the name differently. Schroeder takes it as meaning the god Vulcan, the master craftsman to whose skill all kinds of marvels are ascribed in medieval romance.[3] This theory demands the minimum of textual

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1. Cf. Le Roman de l'Escoufle, ed. H. Michelant - P. Meyer (SATF. Paris 1894), 3585 un drap de Flandres poleté, and 3996 un drap flamenc.

2. Several instances are quoted in A. Tobler - E. Lommatsch, Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch (Berlin 1925 -).

3. The tradition stems originally from Virgil's account of the forging of Aeneas' armour in Book VIII of the Aeneid, but it is not confined to such works as Heinrich von Veldeke's Eneide (ed. O. Behaghel, Heilbronn 1882) or the French Roman d'Eneas (ed. Salverda de Grave, Class.fr.d.m.a., Paris 1925-29). Konrad Fleck in Flore und Blanscheflur (ed. E. Sommer, Quedlinburg 1846) says of a costly goblet in machete Vulcân ein smit (1580), and many other examples could be quoted.

revision and fits in very satisfactorily with the general context, but reduces the actual words as they stand to nonsense. Pretzel takes Vulcânus in the equally possible sense of "volcano", and emends the whole phrase to von holze, daz Vulcânus / niht verbrennen enkan, i.e. wood that not even the flames of a volcano could consume. To both these suggestions the writer prefers the reading holz von ebenus, proposed by F. Bech as long ago as 1872.[1] In the Middle Ages ebony was commonly believed to be incombustible, and was therefore much sought after for the manufacture of rare and precious objects.[2] The scribal confusion may be due to the fact that all three concepts tended to run together in the medieval mind, on the strength of Pliny's Natural History,[3] where Ethiopia is said to derive its name from a son of Vulcan, to contain many volcanoes and to be rich in forests of ebony-wood.

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1. In v.d. Hagen's Germania 17 (1872), pp. 170-177.

2. Cf. the Roman d'Eneas 6429f.: La coverture de dessus / Fu tote faite d'ebenus, and Marie de France, Guigemar 156ff.: N'i out cheville ne cloture / Ki ne fust tute d'ebenus; / Suz ciel n'a or ki vaille plus. E. Faral, Les sources latines des contes et romans courtois du moyen âge (Paris 1913) quotes on p. 163 an extract from a description of the palace of Prester John: Cooperturа ejusdem palacii est de ebeno ne aliquo casu possit comburi.

3. Book VI, paras. 187, 197.

The construction placed on these lines further determines their relationship to a later passage 1135ff., where the workmanship of the bed-coverlet (golter) is described as being so fine that not even Cassandra could have excelled it. In the Introduction to the 1894 edition of Moriz von Craûn Schroeder uses these two allusions as evidence for the date of the work by claiming that they are borrowed from Gottfried von Strassburg, who introduces the identical conjunction of Vulcan the smith and Cassandra the seamstress into his account of the preparations for Tristan's accolade.[1] But the touch of irony which Gottfried instils into his picture of der guote listwürkaere and diu wîse Trôierinne is itself enough to suggest that they had already become a hackneyed commonplace in contexts of this type. And Schroeder qualifies his earlier view, first in an article, ZfdA. 43, pp. 257ff., and subsequently in his Introduction to the 1913 edition of Moriz von Craûn, on the grounds of a passage from the Roman d'Eneas.[2] which leads him to

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1. Gottfried von Strassburg, Tristan, 4930ff., 4948ff., 4970ff.

2. The description of the colte draped over Camilla's bier in lines 7452ff. includes a puzzling phrase (7457) which in several MSS. runs "De caſe en baſe esteit brosdee", a version retained by Salverda de Grave in the form "De cafe en bafe esteit brosdee". In the group EFG, however, the line appears as "A .i. cassandre esteit brosdee", which, as Schroeder points out, could easily be a copyist's error for "A uns (=opus) cassandre esteit brosdee".

conclude that the author of our poem derived both names from his French source.

However there is no need to scour the literature of France and Germany for precedents, on the assumption that each and every statement contained in Moriz von Craûn - or in any other piece of medieval writing - can be traced back to some identifiable model. The poet may simply be availing himself of the knowledge and ideas which in his generation were common property.

The same thing applies to that strange creature the "alfurt" of Morocco (1147ff.) whose fur (plumage?) is used for the quilt of the bed. Audiences in the Middle Ages loved to hear about the names, appearance and habits of exotic fauna, and Faral[1] quotes many descriptions of beds or other articles of furniture decked with coverings made from the skins of beasts or birds from distant, vaguely Oriental, lands. Some of these animals are known to zoology, like the leopards whose pelts are stretched over the framework of the bed in Moriz von Craûn (und was gestrecket dar an / vier liebarten hiute 1124f.). Others belong to the world of bestiary fable, as when caladrius

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1. In the chapter on "Le Merveilleux", op. cit., pp. 358ff.

plumes are used to stuff a pillow,[1] or phoenix feathers are woven into a stool-cover.[2] Others again have evidently been dreamed up by the writers themselves, such as the "dindialos", whose fur trims the mantle of Briseis in the Roman de Troie,[3] or the particoloured "barbioletes" of Chrétien's Erec,[4] or the Armenian "alphais" of the Roman d'Escanor.[5] Like all these, the name "alfurt" is a hapax legomenon, and it is fruitless to speculate whether the French or the German poet deserves the credit for its invention.

The most we can claim is that the reference to der künic von Marroch (1148) might well be a reminiscence of Heinrich von Veldeke's Eneide 7330ff., where Pallas' horse is said to be a gift from der koninc van Marroc; and the occurrence almost immediately afterwards (1151f.) of the

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1. Roman d'Eneas, 7467ff.
2. Partonopier und Meliûr, 1142ff.
3. Benoit de Sainte-Maure, Le Roman de Troie (ed. L. Constans, SATF., Paris 1904-12), 13364ff.
4. Ed. W. Foerster (2nd edn., Halle 1909), 6801.
5. Le Roman d'Escanor (ed. H. Michelant, Bibl.d.lit. Vereins in Stuttgart CLXXVIII, Tübingen 1886), 16076f.

names Kartâgo and Dîdô bears out this supposition. The general influence of the Eneide on Moriz von Craûn is in any case unmistakable. Many other correspondences between the two works have been noted by different critics,[1] and the author of Moriz von Craûn himself acknowledges one aspect of his indebtedness when in line 1160 he pays explicit tribute to von Veldeke meister Heinrich as a master of descriptive writing.

Why he should thereupon single out for special remark (1161ff.) not the Eneide, with its almost over-lavish use of description, but an inferior production which, if it ever existed at all, has completely perished, is one of the minor mysteries of our text. Even those who believe that the lines relate to a genuine lost work of Veldeke's are forced to admit that the subject attributed to it - Solomon on his royal couch as a target for the arrows of Venus - is a somewhat improbable jumble of Biblical tradition and pagan mythology.[2] Most scholars in fact now

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1. E.g. En. 1: Ir hât wale vernomen dat / MvC.1:Ir habet dicke vernomen; En. 7581: te soliken wedergelde / MvC. 26: und gâben solich widergelt; En. 4526: wîden achter lande / MvC. 91: wîten after lande; En. 869: vel misselîke gevare / MvC. 530: harte misselîche var; En. 1708: dat hedes ongerne vermeden / MvC. 776: daz haete er nôte vermiten; En. 1837f.: he begreip sî met den armen, do begonde hem erwarmen / MvC. 1613f.: si begreif in mit den armen, nu begunde er ouch erwarmen, and many other parallels of the same type.
2. Cf. O. Behaghel's edition of the Eneide, Introduction, pp. CLXXIIIf.

favour the view that misunderstanding, or imperfect memory, or a fondness for parading scraps of book-learning in and out of season, or a mixture of all three, prompted our poet to concoct the whole thing out of his imagination on the basis of a single line from one of Veldeke's lyrics:- df minne df dwanc Salomône ...[1] The later reference to Solomon as a type of wisdom (1336) is purely conventional and nothing can be deduced from it.

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1. MF., 66,16. See also K. Stackmann, Die mhd. Verspovelle 'Moriz von Craûn' (unpublished dissertation, Hamburg 1947), pp. 123f.

III. THE GERMAN ACCRETIONS

1.

"Ce nos ont nostre livre apris
Que Grece ot de chevalerie
Le premier los, et de clergie.
Puis vint chevalerie a Rome
Et de la clergie la some,
Qui or est an France venue.
Deus doint qu'ele i soit retenue ..."[1]

"Athis und Profiliâs
nâch ritterschefte strebten,
mit stêten triuwen lebten,
in ritterlicher werdikeit.
Mit ritterschaft die lant erstreit
der küneo Alexander ...
Nû bliket ein helt in Bêheimlant ..."[2]

The shadow-warfare of 'if' and 'but' and 'maybe' and 'nevertheless', which has turned each of the foregoing allusions into a miniature battleground, becomes still more confused and uncertain as the area of dispute increases in size. No part of Moriz von Craûn has been the subject of so much controversy as the long prologue (1-262) occupying over a seventh of the entire work, which traces the

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1. Cligès, 30ff.

2. Heinrich von Freiberg, Die Ritterfahrt des Johann von Michelsperg (ed. A. Bernt, Halle 1906), 26ff., 40.

evolution of chivalry from its first origins among the Greeks and Trojans through the Roman and Carolingian empires and so down to the author's own time. All the critics are agreed in attributing the bulk of it to the German poet, but beyond that point opinions are widely divergent. Space forbids a detailed review of every argument and counter-argument that has been advanced. Suffice it to say that the problems surrounding this introductory section can roughly be grouped under four headings:- its affinities with other contemporary writings, both literary and historical, the reason for its seemingly disproportionate length, its connexion with the main theme of the poem, and the extent to which it may be derived from the French source. Although these questions are of course closely interrelated, it will be best for the sake of clarity to treat them separately.

Attempts to survey the course of world history retrospectively in the light of one cardinal idea or doctrine are by no means confined to the Middle Ages, but the mental climate of that period, with its passion for order and comprehensiveness, was unusually favourable to them. Medieval theologians delighted to look back across the centuries and observe the majestic unfolding of the Divine

plan for fallen mankind through patriarchs and prophets, through the life of the Redeemer and the history of the early church, through the activity of saints and missionaries, up to their own day. Secular poets likewise could be conscious of an ancient inheritance handed down from the remote past to them and their fellows in a single unbroken line of continuity. This cast of mind seems to have been specially marked in Germany, where systematic theory has always tended to flourish; and it is reflected in the number of Middle High German works which begin with an exordium interpreting successive stages of human civilisation from the standpoint of some clearly-defined and all-embracing principle, whether it be the conception of an over-ruling Providence, as in the Annolied,[1] or the conception of empire, as in the Kaiserchronik, or the conception of chivalry, as in the Ritterfahrt des Johann von Michelsperg and above all in Moriz von Craûn.

During the Middle Ages a knowledge of bygone epochs was derived for the most part from standard authorities, which were relatively few in number and relatively accessible

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1. Ed. W. Bulst, Heidelberg 1946.

so that mediæval accounts of early history, however distorted and incomplete they may be as a record of fact, are extraordinarily firm and consistent in their broad outlines. There is naturally a certain amount of discrepancy in matters of secondary importance - the emphasis may differ, the selection and arrangement of the details may be modified, the guiding aim may not be everywhere identical. But even these variations tend to be governed by accepted convention rather than by the critical choice of the writers concerned.

For this reason it is useless to guess at the precise origin of every statement contained in the historical prologue to Moriz von Craûn. We do not know how well the poet was acquainted with the vernacular literature of his native country, let alone that of France. We do not know how much, if any, of his subject-matter has been drawn from the would-be scientific annals of historians, or, at the other end of the scale, from those drifting legends about the brave days of old which he could no more exclude from his consciousness than he could stop breathing. We can only say that no one surviving work could have supplied him with all the material in the exact form in which he has presented it. In other words, we must assume - what

after all is only reasonable - that he compiled his information from a number of different sources, some of which at least may no longer be extant.

A particularly clear example of this blending of sources is the passage dealing with the siege of Troy (9-76). It is well known that before the Renaissance men relied for their picture of the Trojan War not so much on Homer as on two spurious prose works, written in Latin but purporting to be translated from the Greek, the De excidio Trojae historia ascribed to Dares the Phrygian, and the Ephemeris belli Trojani ascribed to Dictys the Cretan. Each offered a supposedly eye-witness account of the campaign, Dares giving the Trojan viewpoint while Dictys spoke for the Greeks. The historicity of the events they described was taken for granted throughout the Middle Ages, and popular sympathy was strongly on the side of the Trojans, from whom not only the Romans but also several races nearer home, like the Franks, were believed to be descended; while the Greeks, thanks to the testimony of Crusaders and other travellers in the Near East, were regarded with suspicion if not with positive dislike. So it is hardly surprising that our poet prefers to quote as his ultimate authority the record of Dares rather than that of Dictys.

It is unlikely, though not impossible, that he had first-hand knowledge of the De excidio Troiae, and we are safer in presuming that his narrative is based entirely on medieval versions of the legend. The only full-length treatment which is unquestionably earlier in date than our text is the Roman de Troie of Benoit de Sainte-Maure, written c. 1160-1170, to which the author of Moriz von Craûn might have had access either directly in the original,[1] or indirectly via his French source.[2] The earliest German version of the tale of Troy that has survived is Herbort von Fritzlar's Liet von Troye,[3] which is based on the Roman de Troie and which must have been composed some time between 1210 and 1217. If our poet knew and used the Liet von Troye, as seems probable,[4] Moriz von Craûn must be rather later in date than many scholars would have us believe, but the evidence is not conclusive either way and the question must for the present remain open.[5] In

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1. This is maintained by W. Willmanns (Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1895, pp. 407ff.) and by Schroeder in the 1894 edition of Moriz von Craûn.
2. This modified view is put forward by Schroeder in the edition of 1913, on the basis of an article by S. Singer in the ZfromPhil. 33, 1909, pp. 729f.
3. Ed. G.K. Frommann (Quedlinburg and Leipzig 1837).
4. Cf. MvC. 37: Dares, der dâ mite was (las) / Herbort 55: wan er dâ mite was gewesen (lesen), and other textual parallels of the same kind.
5. Opinions differ as to whether a Troy romance already existed in Germany before Herbort's poem; for opposite

(continued overleaf)

addition to these large-scale productions, he may have drawn on brief summaries of the legend in other works, such as the Annolied, the Kaiserchronik, the Eneide, or the Chronicon sive historia de duabus civitatibus of Bishop Otto von Freising (d. 1158).[1]

On internal grounds we are certainly justified in concluding that he had more than one form of the tradition at his disposal. Thus on one occasion we find him agreeing with Herbort against Dares and Benoit, when he reverses the usual order of Deiphebus and Helenus in the list of Priam's sons:-

	MvC.		Herbort
20	Ector und Paris, Elenus und Deiphebus unde ir bruoder Troilus.	1665	Der sune hiezzen drî alsus; Ector, Paris, Elenus; der fierde hiez Deiphebus, und der funfte Troylus.

On another occasion he agrees with Benoit against Dares and Herbort, when he makes Dares' account a running journal of the conflict, in which each day's events were chronicled during the following night:-

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footnote continued from previous page:

views on the question see E. Joseph, "Die Zeugnisse für eine deutsche Trojadichtung vor Herbort" (ZfdA. 30, 1886, pp. 395ff.) and G. Baesecke, "Herbort von Fritzlar, Albrecht von Halberstadt, und Heinrich von Veldeke" (ZfdA. 50, 1906, pp. 366ff.).

1. Ed. A. Hofmeister (MGH. Script. rer. Germ., Hanover 1912).

MvC.		Benoit	
37	Dares, der dâ mite was, der die naht schreip unde las swas dee tages dâ geschach, als erz mit ougen ane sach.	93	Icist Daires don ci oez Fu de Troie norriz e nez; Dedenz esteit ...
		105	Chascun jor ensi l'escoreveit, Come il o ses ieuz le veeit. Tot quant qu'il faiseient le jor, O en bataille o en estor, Tot escreiveit la nuit apres.

On yet a third occasion he agrees with Heinrich von Veldeke against both Benoit and Herbort, when he introduces Pandarus as a valiant and trustworthy comrade-in-arms of Eneas:-

MvC.		Veldeke	
50	Pandarus und Eneas die wâren ouch dâ vorne ofte mit zorne dâ man heldes werc worhte.	7096	Doe hade der hêre Enêas twêne recken dâ gelâten, die op einen torne sâten op den overesten hûs. der broeder ein hiet Pandarus ...

Unless our poet is reproducing <u>in toto</u> some version which has not been preserved, he must have read round his subject extensively, and this is all the more plausible in that the tale of Troy seems to have held a special fascination for him. He dwells on it at greater length than any other part of the prologue except the Nero episode, and thrice he hints that he would have liked to give it the

fuller treatment it deserved, each time implying that he is held back by some factor outside his control: by the sheer magnitude of the theme:-

33 Ich saget iu wol für baz
von Troie. was hulfe daz?
wir mugen ez lâzen belîben:
es kunde niemen gar geschrîben.

- by lack of skill or perhaps of opportunity:-

71 Ze Troie geschach wunder.
daz ist ein rede besunder,
der ich gerne ein ende fünde
mit worten, ob ich künde.

- and by something for which the MS. has the undoubtedly corrupt freude, emended by Schroeder and Pretzel to fremede, vremede (i.e. unfamiliarity), by Haupt[1] and Stackmann[2] to broede (i.e. inadequacy):-

75 War umbe ichs überhaben hân?
das ist durch fremede getân.

This last phrase, which might have afforded us a valuable clue about the circumstances under which our text was written or commissioned, illustrates once again the unfortunate tendency of the MS. to break down at the most crucial points.

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1. M. Haupt, Moriz von Craon. Eine altdeutsche Erzählung (Festgabe für Gustav Homeyer, Berlin 1871, pp. 27-80).

2. Stackmann, op. cit., pp. 46ff.

The next phase in the evolution of chivalry is typified by the Greeks and their relations with der biderbe Alexander (94-102). The historical and legendary exploits of Alexander were common knowledge in both France and Germany by the end of the twelfth century,[1] and the allusion is couched in such general terms that it might be derived from any one of a dozen sources. It is clear that Alexander is somehow associated with the decline of chivalry among the Greeks, but the phrasing is obscure and a minimum of textual alteration[2] would enable it to be interpreted in two very different ways. In one case Alexander would be represented as a Greek, who won for his fellow-countrymen lands which later, on his death, they lost by their own slackness and unworthiness; in the other he would, more accurately, be represented as a foreign conqueror, who wrested from the Greeks lands which they had formerly subjugated, but were no longer powerful enough to defend.

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1. Two twelfth-century Alexander romances, complete or fragmentary, have survived in each country. For a general introduction to the traditions concerning Alexander in the Middle Ages, see G. Cary, The Mediaeval Alexander (Cambridge 1956).

2. It is only necessary to substitute den Kriechen lande (or lant) for der Kriechen lande in line 95 (MS. reading: der kriech/en lannde), and to change the punctuation slightly in order to transform the whole sense of the passage.

Both conceptions of Alexander were current during the Middle Ages,[1] and the precise significance of the passage is in any case immaterial to its general message - namely, that military ascendancy can only be maintained by disciplined effort and self-sacrifice.

Another minor problem, arising directly out of the first, is posed by lines 98ff., especially by the key word nû:-

> Man zinset in, nû gernt sie hulde
> (daz ist doch ein ungelîchez leben);
> man gab in, nû muosens geben.[2]

If the conquest of Greece by Alexander the Macedonian is regarded as evidence that chivalry among the Greeks was then already on the wane, the nû, in conjunction with the change of tense from the preterite to the present, merely brings out more vividly the contrast between their former glory (den hôchvertigen Kriechen 27) as vanquishers of the Trojans, and their subsequent humiliation. If the decadence of Greece is envisaged as setting in after the death

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1. In the Annolied 209 he is called den Criechiskin Alexandrin, while in Reinfrid von Braunschweig (ed. K. Bartsch, Bibl.d.Lit.Ver. in Stuttgart CIX, Tübingen 1871), 26776f. we read that (Alexander) der êrste fürste was / dem Kriechen ie wart undertân. For the whole not very important question, see Stackmann, op. cit., pp. 53ff.

2. In the MS. these lines are even more hopelessly corrupt than the preceding ones, and emendations vary greatly from one editor to another.

of Alexander, the nû followed by a present tense could possibly refer to the poet's own day, and Hatto[1] takes it as a topical allusion to the storming of Constantinople by Crusaders in 1204, which reduced Greece to the status of a tribute-paying nation.

As Greece sinks into decay, the heritage of chivalry is transferred to Rome (103-122). The splendours of imperial Rome and the achievements of Julius Caesar as founder and chief representative of the Empire were facts so familiar in the Middle Ages that there is no need to postulate definite literary antecedents for our poet's brief and conventional account. The prestige of the Eternal City was everywhere a living reality, and the author of Moriz von Craûn is only following the popular notions of his time when he sets up Julius Caesar in succession to Hector and Alexander as completing the great triumvirate of the ancient world.[2] If he utilised any written source, it was probably the Kaiserchronik,[3] where Rome is described (14315ff.)

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1. A.T. Hatto, "Moriz von Craon" (London Mediaeval Studies, I, 2, 1938, 285ff.), pp. 299ff.
2. Hector, Alexander and Caesar were the three heroes of pagan antiquity in the company of the Nine Worthies.
3. Ed. H.F. Massmann (Quedlinburg 1849-54).

as a school of honour, to which young nobles from every nation were sent in order to learn the arts of chivalry; and where earlier on (245ff.) much space is devoted to the career of Caesar, whose conquests reduced all the surrounding peoples to a state of obedient submission:-

294 Iedoch betwanc iulius cesar alle ir chraft.

Veldeke's Eneide contains a very similar reference:-

13387 Dat was Jûljus Cêsar;
dat mach man seggen vor wâr
dat he der werelds vele betwanc.

The collapse of Rome seems to have stirred the poet's imagination more deeply than the overthrow of Greece or Troy, and some scholars have felt his picture of the ruined city (228ff.) to be so graphic as to suggest first-hand experience.[1] It is certainly possible, but an elegaic mood of Roma fuit, perhaps the earliest instance in Western Europe of the romantic cult of ruins, was quite widespread at the time[2] even among those who had not witnessed with their own eyes this crowning proof of the impermanence of human grandeur.

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1. Cf. R.M. Meyer "Bligger von Steinach" (ZfdA. 39, 1895, pp. 318f.), where the reference to the lampartischer van in line 738 is taken as further evidence that our poet had visited Italy. Unfortunately the passage about the ruins of Rome is corrupt beyond all possibility of accurate emendation.

2. A classic example of this is the elegy of Hildebert of Tours (Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus, Paris 1844-55, CLXXI, col. 1409f.).

In Moriz von Craûn the downfall of Rome, like its rise, is both ascribed to and exemplified by the actions of a single individual. As Julius Caesar is a type of the upright, wise and victorious ruler, so Nero (133-229) is a type of the degenerate, cruel and selfish ruler, whose viciousness demolishes all that his nobler predecessors have built up. From the medieval standpoint Nero was therefore doubly abhorrent, not only as the persecutor of the Christians, but also as the man who was personally responsible for the destruction of the Empire. The truth of his crimes was vouched for up to a point by Roman historians like Tacitus and Suetonius, but the morbid imaginings of later ages had worked upon them until they assumed the monstrous dimensions of a nightmare.

By their emphasis on cruelty, sexual perversion and destructive violence, such anecdotes anticipated the horror comic of today, and not even the moral warning supplied by the villain's miserable end could make up for their unsavouriness. Nevertheless, as one might expect, the more lurid they became the more avidly they were relished by popular taste. Although of all the sections in the historical introduction to Moriz von Craûn the Nero episode is the least relevant to the main theme of the poem, and

even to the theme of the introduction itself, it is spun out to greater length than any other. And the poet's fascinated lingering over the subject is matched by the partiality of the scribe, for whom, as the superscription in the MS. plainly shows, Nero monopolized the foreground of interest.[1]

After a general picture of Nero's character (133-142), four instances of his depravity are recounted. He was a homosexual (143f.). Wishing to experience pregnancy and parturition, he commanded his physician on pain of death to make him bear a child; the physician, by means of a powder, caused a toad to grow inside the Emperor's body until the latter, terrified at the approaching prospect of childbirth, compelled him to contrive an abortion (145-169). He had his mother murdered and her body ripped up, because he was curious to see the womb in which he had lain (180-194). In order to reproduce the spectacle of the burning of Troy he ordered Rome to be set on fire, while members of his household were forced to fight in the blazing streets with a band of knights from the city; thus he brought about not only the ruin of his capital but the wanton slaughter of his bravest warriors (195-227).

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1. See above, p. 2, note 4.

It is generally accepted that our poet derived most of his material, including his account of the attempted pregnancy, the matricide and the burning of Rome, from the chapter on Nero in the Kaiserchronik (4102ff.). But the legends concerning Nero were so widely current in the Middle Ages[1] that it would have been an occasion for surprise had they reached him through a single channel only, and the fact that his selection of details differs in several particulars from that of the Kaiserchronik argues that he must have had access to a second, unidentifiable, source of information. The wholly secular bias of his narrative leads him to omit the persecutions of the early Church, the dispute with Simon Magus, the martyrdom of Saints Peter and Paul, the final madness and suicide of the Emperor, and the fate of his soul in Hell, all of which are naturally given great prominence by the clerical author of the Kaiserchronik. On the other hand the tradition of Nero's homosexuality, already affirmed by Tacitus, is passed over entirely in the Kaiserchronik, where the pregnancy incident is included with a variant

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1. For extensive notes on the medieval traditions about Nero, see Massmann's edition of the Kaiserchronik, III, pp. 677ff.

ending, in which the actual birth of the toad is used as a crude explanation of the name 'Lateran' (*lata rana*). We must therefore conclude that here, as in the Troy episode, different versions of the legend have been incorporated into a single narrative.

As the fall of imperial Rome and the decadence of chivalry go hand in hand, so the renewal of the Empire under Charlemagne brings with it a revival of knightly virtue (230–250). The reference to Charlemagne (240) and to Roland and Oliver (242) inevitably recall Pfaffe Konrad's *Rolandslied*.[1] but the names of the Emperor and at least of these two chief paladins were so widely known in Germany that our poet could equally well have heard them from common report.[2] Nor can anything definite be deduced from the somewhat archaic term *Kerlingen* (238). Though the great masters of courtly literature usually prefer the name *Francrîche*, which our poet himself employs

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1. Ed. C. Wesle (Bonn 1928).

2. Cf. *Meier Helmbrecht* (ed. C.E. Gough, 2nd edn., Oxford 1957) 62ff. where *künec Karle und Ruolant, / Turpîn und Oliviere* are embroidered on the left side of the hero's cap, corresponding, significantly enough, to a picture of the siege of Troy on the right side. Both poems similarly stress the idea of conquest, cf. *MvG*. 241: *diu lant twingen* and *MH*. 67ff.: *Prôvenz und Arle / betwanc der künec Karle, / mit manheit und mit witzen, / er betwanc daz lant Gâlitzen*.

in 756, thirteenth-century writers like Konrad von Würzburg still use Kerlingen and its derivatives quite freely.[1]

From the Carolingian Empire and its achievements the poet passes directly to his own times. At this point he presents a seeming contradiction which no student of the text can fail to notice. Among the successive stages that mark the development of chivalry, there is one that might have been expected to come as the crown and fulfilment of all that has gone before - the chivalry of the Round Table - and it is passed over completely. Heinrich von Freiberg takes the heroes of Arthurian romance for granted as embodying the perfection of knighthood;[2] as far as Moriz von Crâûn is concerned, the matière de Bretagne might never have existed.

Why the author should expressly share the general conviction of his age in regarding France as the home of the knightly way of life[3] and the tutor of other nations in

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1. Eg. Partonopier 13190: wand ich se Kârlingen fuor, and Der Turnei von Nantheiz (ed. K. Bartsch, Vienna 1871) 528: der werden Kerlingaere vogt.

2. Ritterfahrt des Johann v. Michelsperg 16ff.: die schrift der buoche uns tuot bekant, / was Parzivâl, Iwein, Gâwân / ritterschaft gepflogen hân, and 32ff.: Schionâtulander, / der reine junge telfîn, / der tet daz offenlîchen schîn, / daz er nâch ritterschefte rang.

3. E.g. Wolfram von Eschenbach, Willehalm (ed. K. Lachmann, 6th edn., rev. E. Hartl, Berlin 1926) 229, 2, refers to France as "der rehten rîterschefte lant".

all that pertained to it, including courtly love (251-262), and at the same time should ignore entirely that branch of literature in which French chivalric culture found its most distinctive utterance, is an anomaly that merits closer investigation, for here, perhaps, lies the key to the whole problem of the historical introduction and its relationship to the rest of the poem.

For the poet, this section was not simply an appendage, whose only function was to serve as a preamble to more weighty or attractive matters. Nor was it, like the opening chapters, say, of Tristan or Parsival or Kudrun, a prelude ushering in the principal subject by summarizing its action or foreshadowing its conflicts as they affected an earlier generation. It was something of intrinsic interest and importance, self-contained or at least self-justifying. For this reason he develops his theme with no air of hurry or impatience, but in a spacious and leisurely manner befitting the grand scale of the events with which he is dealing. His plan is governed by an unmistakable sense of purpose, and, in the opinion of one critic,[1] by a sense of internal structure as well, which suggests

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1. Stackmann, op. cit., pp. 31ff.

that in expanding his prologue into a little independent treatise he knew very well what he was about.

Certainly he is not portraying a series of historical epochs for their own sake. The facts of history are in his eyes of much less consequence than the theoretical principle which those facts reveal and exemplify, and which for him seems to have had all the force of a personal creed. Although externally speaking he is concerned with the fate of successive empires, this guiding principle is not the conception of Imperium as such. The Kaiserchronik and the Annolied, to name only two instances, regard imperial power as an institution of quasi-supernatural dignity, maintained from one age to the next by the ordinances of God. Our poet uses the sequence of empires as a mere framework for something which touches him far more closely - the idea of chivalry.

At once the decisive question presents itself: what did he understand by chivalry? In what spirit did he view this attitude to life which was at once a historical phenomenon and a living reality?

Those critics who assign Moriz von Craûn to the period when chivalry was only just becoming established in Germany contend that the poet has discussed it in such detail

either because he was himself under the spell of its novelty or because he wished to expound its unfamiliar doctrines for the benefit of others.[1] But although his work does undoubtedly betray some puzzlingly archaic features, his approach to chivalry is not one of them. He shows no sign of being confused or overpowered by a new movement with which he has not yet managed to come to terms; though still deeply involved, he has already acquired a certain perspective, an ability to stand away from the subject and embrace the whole field in a single sweep of vision.

Another interpretation, put forward by Schwietering,[2] explains the poet's design as a typological contrast, similar to that which in the medieval view divided the Old Testament from the New; this would imply that he regarded the ancient world as a prefiguration or prototype, the true significance of which only became apparent in the light of subsequent revelation. It is difficult to see how one

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1. G. Baesecke, "Heinrich der Glichesaere", pp. 15ff. and H. Schneider, Heldendichtung, Geistlichendichtung, Ritterdichtung, p. 274.

2. J. Schwietering, "Typologisches in mittelalterlicher Dichtung" (Festschrift für Ehrismann, Berlin 1925, pp. 49ff.).

can justify this theory. If the poet did in fact speak of <u>vremede</u> in connexion with the tale of Troy, it seems highly unlikely that he intended the word, as Schwietering claims, to mean "sinnfremd", alien from himself, belonging to an era which had now been superseded by his own; for nowhere does he hint, still less affirm, that between pagan antiquity and contemporary Christendom there was a great gulf fixed. On the contrary, the chivalry of Rome and the chivalry of Carolingian France are juxtaposed in a natural succession, separated indeed by a long interval of time, but not by any essential disparity.

This sense of unbroken continuity springs from a wholly secular attitude to history. Spiritual or theological factors count for nothing in his hierarchy of chivalry, and Christian heroes like Charlemagne, Roland and Oliver are not ranked above, or even differentiated from, unbaptized heathens like Hector, Alexander and Caesar. Any medieval writer who dealt with events and personages drawn from classical antiquity had presumably to make some concessions to his material in order to achieve a temporary working compromise between two worlds which were fundamentally irreconcilable. We need not therefore be surprised to find our poet's outlook very far removed from the pious

determinism of clerical productions like the Kaiserchronik. But even Chrétien, a layman with no particular religious bias, does not detach himself from the implications of Christianity so completely as the author of Moriz von Craûn. In a passage at the beginning of Cligès, the opening lines of which are quoted at the head of this section, he too, though much more briefly, traces the development of chivalry from Greece and Rome down to the France of his own day, and he does so from at least a nominally Christian standpoint. Not only is chevalerie closely associated with clergie,[1] but Chrétien acknowledges that its course is controlled by the hand of Providence, in that God, having entrusted it for a time to other nations (Deus l'avoit as autres prestee 40) now has the power to decree that it shall remain permanently in France, its present resting-place (... or est an France venue; / Deus doint qu'ele i soit retenue 35f.).

A further corollary of this belief emerges from Chrétien's account, namely that the evolution of chivalry is like a pilgrimage or march, interrupted by various halts along the road, but still tending towards some fixed destination, with each stage of the journey marking an advance

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1. See the quotation at the head of this section.

on the previous one, and each in its turn left behind and forgotten. In reaching France, as we have seen, he hopes that chivalry has reached its goal, its final perfection of stability and honour. At one point we find Moriz von Craûn likewise holding up France to admiration as superior to all her predecessors (Ez stât dehein lant baz / ze freuden dâ man ie gesaz / danne Kerlingen tuot 251ff.) and as a model for her generation (Sich hât sît manig ander lant / gebezzert durch ir lêre / an ritterschefte sêre 256ff.); but there is no suggestion that France is the culmination of a steadily mounting progression. The author sees the fortunes of chivalry from one civilisation to the next as a recurrent pattern, three times repeated, of rise and fall. This cyclic rhythm does not depend either on supernatural management or on human considerations of a political or military nature; it is governed by a simple law of cause and effect, which rests on two positive moral values, ritterschaft and êre.

Both words with their derivatives occur very frequently in this first section of our text, and the meaning assigned to them by the poet is quite clear. Though the two are felt to be inseparably linked, so that neither can exist without the other, his principal concern, as we might guess,

is with <u>ritterschaft</u>, which he personifies as a noble lady who wanders from one country to another, sometimes received as an honoured guest, sometimes spurned or driven into exile. The term carries no connotations of courtesy, gallantry, generosity, or any of the usual attributes of "chivalry". It denotes simply a warlike temper, which finds its fullest expression in the extending or consolidating of military power. <u>Ritterschaft</u> flourishes whenever a nation is victorious in battle or successful in maintaining its dominion over other races; it decays whenever a nation is vanquished and reduced to a subject condition. Significantly enough, though the poet's sympathies are on the side of the defeated Trojans, he never uses the word <u>ritterschaft</u> in connexion with them, reserving it exclusively for the Greeks, as the eventual victors in the struggle:-

9 Kriechen heiset daz lant
dâ man den list alrêrste vant
der ze ritterschaft gehoeret: ...
ze Kriechen huop sich ritterschaft
dô sie Troie mit kraft
besâzen durch ein frouwen.
... (sie) wurben alle tage
umbe ritterlîchen prîs.

When Greece becomes soft and indolent (77-84) <u>ritterschaft</u> takes her departure and goes to sojourn at Rome:-

113 ze Rôme ritterschaft beleip
dô mane von Kriechen vertreip.

Here she finds a noble champion in Julius Caesar, whose conquests make him the master of the world:-

116 Julius Cêsar
der emphienc sie ritterlîche
und twanc alliu rîche
daz im dienten diu lant.

On the destruction of Rome ritterschaft is once again homeless, and comes in a piteous plight to France:-

231 Dô muose ritterschaft varn
von Rôme, wan sie was arn
lîbes unde guotes ...
Mit jâmerlîchen dingen
quam sie ze Kerlingen ...

- where she leads a miserable existence until restored to her rightful status by Charlemagne, who sets himself to subdue all the lands round about:-

239 (sie) was dâ lange nôthaft,
biz aber Karle sider mit kraft
begunde twingen diu lant.

The paladins too cherish her favours and uphold her cause in valiant fashion:-

243 die kuren sie ze gellen
durch ir baldez ellen
und phlâgen ir ritterlîche.

Inspired by this example, their fellow-countrymen as a whole have adopted ritterschaft as a national possession and made France into a pattern for all her neighbours (245-262).

Êre, the fruit of ritterschaft, is similarly understood in a military sense. It does not mean moral integrity or nobility, nor does it mean the homage paid by society to these qualities. It indicates the superior prestige enjoyed by the strong, the deference and respect which lesser men accord to those by whom they are dominated. Hence schande, disgrace, does not signify moral reproach, but weakness, slothfulness, subordination to others. Rome in its prime was invincible:-

103 Ez was dô mit krefte
noch von hêrschefte
kein stat in den rîchen
diu Rôme möhte gelîchen;

- and therefore Rôme stuont mit êren (133). Although the Trojans fight bravely and are engaged in a worthy undertaking, the defence of their native city, their êre suffers mortal damage when their defeat becomes certain after Hector's death:-

47 Dô swachet ir êre
tegelîchen sêre;

69 dô swachet Troie allen tac
unz si wüeste gelac.

But the worst ignominy of all is that of the conqueror conquered, as when the decadence (bôsheit 97) of the Greeks leads to their loss of national independence. The fate of Greece, says the poet, should serve as a warning to all who are tempted to slacken in their strenuous pursuit of honour:-

101 Von diu möht man gern êre hân:
sie lônet âne valschen wân.

For êre, though most conspicuously displayed in national affairs, can also appear on a smaller scale in the actions of individuals. Those who seek to emulate Caesar's energy and enterprise will earn their due meed of glory (120-125); those who remain passive and inert are âne êre als ein vihe (128).

Nothing indeed sustains or embodies the collective êre of a community so decisively as the personality of those outstanding individuals to whom final public responsibility has been entrusted. Two characters only in the historical introduction are presented in detail, and each of them shows how the êre of a nation stands or falls with the man who commands it. Hector is a type of the good leader, brave, self-sacrificing, devoted; to his kinsfolk and followers he is a support and rallying-point (den sie sa trôste alle erkurn 68), and a loyal protector (Ector ... ir aller pflac 44f.); with his death their morale breaks down and their cause is lost. Nero is a type of the bad leader; self-centred, self-indulgent, self-willed, indifferent to the claims of his position, to the ties of kinship and to the welfare of those who depend on him, he brings both himself and his country to ruin.

If we set this outlook alongside that of Arthurian romance, the contrast leaps to the eye. The two worlds exhale a totally different atmosphere, and it ceases to be an occasion for surprise that, although among the Nine Worthies Arthur was traditionally placed immediately after Charlemagne, our poet ignores the legends of the Round Table and brings his survey of chivalry to an end with Roland and Oliver. For the Arthur of courtly romance had quite abandoned his earlier, possibly historical, rôles of a national hero in time of war or a ruler bent on extending his dominions by conquest. Though like Charlemagne he stands as a patriarchal figure at the centre of a network of fable, he is not a warlike or even an active personage. Whereas our poet, in stressing the crucial importance of right leadership as a condition for ritterschaft, looks back beyond the circle of Arthur's court to the pre-courtly, indeed pre-feudal, idea of the comitatus, that voluntary bond of trust and obligation between the chieftain and his companions in arms which is commonly associated with the so-called "heroic" age.

In the same way the exploits, and in particular the fighting exploits, of Arthurian knights differ radically both in type and in motive from the deeds of Hector or

Alexander or Caesar. The romances profess a code of ethical values that betrays a somewhat feminine bias, with its emphasis on polish, elegance, social grace, refinement of manners, and the more gentlemanly aspects of chivalry. Here we find a strongly masculine ethos, adapted to Herrendienst rather than Frauendienst. The key virtues are courage, pride, disregard of material comforts or possessions, willingness to endure risks and hardships. The most dreaded evils are cowardice, indolence, weakness, humiliation.

Thus the poet, describing the siege of Troy, compares the courage of the warriors:-

51 Die wâren ouch dâ vorne
ofte mit zorne
dâ man heldes were worhte.
manec strît âne vorhte
was vor Troie dicke,
das man die swertes blicke
niht wol durchsehen mohte.

- with the craven spirit of those who die of fear even before they are wounded:-

64 Dâ starp vil maneger zage
von vorhten, âne wunden.

And again, insisting that

85 ritterschaft und êre
diu muoz kosten sêre,

he shows how love of ease brings its own punishment:-

83 Dô sie des schaden dâ verdrôz,
dô wart ir (i.e. ritterschaft) das lant blôz.

In this theory of morals romance or sentiment have little place. When the Greeks besiege Troy durch ein frouwen (15) the poet does not mean that they do it for Helen's sake, still less out of love for her. They are not actuated by devotion to the service of ladies, but by a sterner and more realistic motive - the recovery and avenging of an abducted wife. For their part the Trojans, including Paris himself (20) look to Hector, not Helen, for their inspiration. The rape of Helen, in fact, is not a tribute to the paramount claims of love, but a tragedy, resulting in the death of brave men and the destruction of a noble city.[1]

Nor is there the slightest hint of either Minnedienst or Frauendienst in the careers of Alexander, Caesar, Charlemagne, Roland, Oliver. Only in the last few lines of the historical introduction (25lff.) are we conscious of

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1. This seems to have been the usual medieval view. Veldeke in the Eneide places the blame for the fall of Troy on Paris' shoulders - dorch Parîses schulde (6) - and all we hear of Helen is her recapture - Elenam sî nâmen / end gâbens Menelâô weder / end brâken Troie dar neder (30ff.). The author of Meier Helmbrecht too sees Paris not as the ideal lover, but as der vermezzen, who dem künege ûz Kriechen nam sîn wîp, / diu im was liep alsam sîn lîp (46ff.).

an abrupt transition to another scale of values, when the chivalry of France is alleged to be wert und bekant (255) because

259 sie dienent harte schône
den frouwen dâ nach lône.

Evidently we are dealing with two divergent notions about what constituted knighthood. Which of the two corresponds most closely to the realities of early thirteenth-century life and thought we cannot tell with any degree of certainty. It is unlikely that they were entirely separate in the sense that one was confined to an élite minority of more delicate breeding, while the other represented the rougher standards of the generality. It may be that one was honoured as a theoretical ideal, while the other provided a more satisfactory yardstick for measuring the actual conduct of life. It may be that both viewpoints existed side by side in the same person, distinguished not by their essential character nor by their relative merits nor by their differing degrees of relevance to real life, but simply by the sphere of application felt to be appropriate to each.

Proof is naturally impossible, but perhaps some light is shed on the matter by the very language which the poet

employe in order to convey his meaning. More than one critic[1] of Moriz von Craûn has commented on the occurrence in the historical prologue of expressions belonging to the old Germanic epic vocabulary, such as nôtvesten (23), urbor (43), heldes werc (53), wigant (59), baldez ellen (244), and has taken this as evidence for the archaic character of the poem, since words of this type were avoided by "courtly" writers like Gottfried von Strassburg and Hartmann von Aue. But though classical stylists such as Gottfried and Hartmann may have shrunk from using phrases which they doubtless felt to be uncouth and unpolished, it must also be remembered that the themes they treated did not often call for the terminology of warfare. In point of fact all the words just quoted and many others of the same kind were introduced quite freely into the poetry of the courtly period when the subject demanded them. This tended to happen most frequently in works based on Germanic national legend, but it was not by any means confined to the Heldenepos. A very few examples will suffice:-

Nôtvesten occurs in Kudrun 621, 1, and in Athis und

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1. E.g. Baesecke, "Heinrich der Glichesaere", p. 16, and Ehrismann, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur II, 2, 1, p. 132.

Prophiliâs[1] C 47; it may also be compared to nôt-gestallen in Parzival IX, 905, and nôtgestalden in Meier Helmbrecht 64 (probably derived from Wolfram's use of the word).

Urbor occurs in Kudrun 679, iii, in Veldeke's Servatius 1, 2797, and in Parzival II, 1309.

Helt and wîgant are very common in the writings of Veldeke, with his numerous descriptions of battle, and Wolfram, the most virile of the romance-writers: e.g. Eneide 60, 145, 273, 3339, and Parzival I, 143, 334, 515, 1141, etc.

Baldes ellen, a stock formula, is found in Kudrun 1032, 2, in Athis und Prophiliâs A** 49 and C 20, and in Ulrich von Zatzikhoven's Lanzelet 3382.[2] Most significantly of all, it is used by Ulrich von

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1. Ed. C. von Kraus, Mittelhochdeutsches Übungsbuch (2nd revised edn., Heidelberg 1926), No. 3.

2. Ed. K.A. Hahn, Frankfurt 1845. For numerous other examples of "baldez ellen" see K. Müllenhoff - W. Scherer, Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa aus dem VIII-XII. Jh. (3rd edn., rev. E. Steinmeyer, Berlin 1892), II, p. 130.

Lichtenstein, who in his Minnelieder employs the high-flown diction of courtly love, and in his marching songs, or Uzreisen, the old warlike phraseology, as in Frauendienst, Lied XVI, 404, 11: der schilt wil mit gühten vil baldîchez ellen.

Clearly it is not possible to draw a hard and fast line of division between the "courtly" and the "heroic" outlook; the two must have overlapped to a far greater extent than is often supposed.

But it is interesting to note that except for wîgant, used in 1621 as a convenient rhyme for hant, none of these words is found anywhere else in Moriz von Craûn, while conversely the main body of the text includes many standard terms of chivalry, such as hövesch (285, 1218), unhövescheit (1310), hôher muot (413), wert (291), tugentlîch (398), wîse (285), tump (451, 476), dienest (273, 395, 436, 509, 590, etc.), which are never used in the prologue. This need not imply that the prologue is more primitive or less courtly than the rest of the work, but it does argue a certain incongruity between its subject-matter and that of the principal theme, and the discrepancy becomes still more striking when one compares the different connotations given to the same word in the two parts of the poem.

Ritterschaft or ritterlich occur no fewer than eleven times in the first 250 lines, always with reference to military prowess in some public, usually a national, cause. In the last paragraph of the prologue (251-262) ritterschaft is used twice with reference to the service of ladies. In the remaining 1521 lines of the text ritterschaft and ritterlich each occur once and once only, the former being applied to the Count's enthusiasm for jousting (911) and the latter to the cavalcade with the ship on wheels (755).

The guotiu freude of chivalry at Rome (111) is the fighting man's joy in pride and power; on one occasion in the later part of the poem the word seems to bear a similar sense (freude ûne zorn 982 applied to Moriz' tournament charge),[1] but elsewhere we find it in a very different type of context - the freude promised by the Minnelohn (484, 485, 487), the freude of the lover embracing his lady (618), the freude of people who hear a band of minstrels playing (865) or who enjoy the beauties of springtime (1687, 1695).

The verb twingen (betwingen) appears three times in the prologue (95, 118, 241), each time in conjunction with

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1. The MS. reading freude on zorn has been questioned by many critics of the text, including Pretzel, who emends the line to dô hête er vreisaamen zorn.

lant, denoting the idea of national conquest; in the main narrative it is used once of fear (und begunde si twingen / vorhte von den dingen 1389f.) but otherwise only of love and the emotions aroused by love (Minne twinget sunder slac 314; als twang ouch disen man ein wân 317; swie unbetwungen ir noch sît 1372).

Êre is the most elusive word of all. The only things which the poet's various conceptions of "honour" have in common is that all enhance in some way the public reputation of the person concerned, and that all require some degree of effort or sacrifice in their attainment (ritterschaft und êre / diu muoz kosten sêre 85f.; ... man mac vil selten / mit sparen êre gelten 329f.; swer nâch êren wil streben / er muoz gemach ûf geben 443f.; êre umbe guot 414; mit maneger slahte guote / erkoufte er lop und êre 1642f.). In the prologue the implications of the word leave little room for doubt - it means the pre-eminence, whether national or individual, which is founded on strength (47, 101, 128, 133, 248). Elsewhere its implications shift so constantly that it is difficult to see exactly what the poet meant by it on any given occasion; but in general it seems to be less a matter of intrinsic moral worth than of conformity to an accepted code of behaviour,

that is, less an ethical than a social quality. For the man it may denote the prestige conferred by the service of a worthy lady (363, 386, 401, 414), by a brave show in the eyes of the world (777, 859, 1252, 1643), or by distinction in knightly pursuits such as the joust (924, 1024). For the woman it may denote either her good name in marriage (1360) or the fulfilling of her obligations towards her lover (1308, 1409, 1635, 1718).

So wide a margin of disagreement in the manner of expression suggests an equal inconsistency in the matter to be expressed. Though many conjectures have been advanced, the relationship of the prologue to what comes after remains obscure and no amount of ingenious argument can explain away the contradiction. It is not simply a disproportion in the scale of events, in that the vast lessons of history are brought to bear on the private actions of a single individual, for other works, such as the Annolied and the Ritterfahrt des Johann von Michelsperg, represent a whole process of historical evolution as leading up to and culminating in the person of one man, and this kind of artificial perspective was no more disturbing to the medieval mind than the visual convention of the miniature-painter who drew background objects very small and the

principal figure very large, so that a knight could appear taller than his castle. Rather we are faced with a genuine breach of logic, inasmuch as the main theme seems to have no necessary connexion with the theory expounded at such length in the opening section.

The prologue traces the development of _ritterschaft_ - but, as we have seen, the word hardly occurs in the later part of the poem, and the chivalry of a national hero like Hector or Caesar or Roland is not at all the same thing as the chivalry of a knight engaged in private exploits for his own ends.

The prologue sets out to demonstrate how _êre_ is indissolubly linked with _ritterschaft_ - but the main theme shows _êre_ resulting from a number of other factors, including love, and operating under quite different conditions.

The prologue shows how _ritterschaft_ and _êre_ rise and fall in a regular succession, which ends with both at their height in the France of the poet's own day - but it is never even clear whether the tale of Moriz and the Countess is an example of chivalry at its peak or in its decline or in transition from one to the other.

At first sight it seems most natural to take Moriz as an ideal pattern of knighthood, and since the prologue concludes by praising the knights of France for the ardour

with which they pursue the Minnelohn, he might, from this point of view at least, stand as an exemplar to his kind, for he leaves nothing undone in respect of energy, devotion, valour and liberality which would entitle him to his reward. Nevertheless it is hard to understand how the poet saw in him a contemporary equivalent of the heroes of antiquity. His achievements, as we have pointed out, differ radically in degree if not in kind from those of his great predecessors. Unlike them, he stands completely isolated before the tribunal of society, owing no loyalty to any leader, claiming no loyalty from any followers. He has no share in the burdens of public responsibility and the only cause to which he is attached is one of his own choosing. Even as a lover his behaviour is not impeccable, for he is no less unkind and unfaithful to his lady after the rupture between them than she is to him before it, though his harshness is somewhat extenuated by the fact that the initial offence comes from her.

Similarly we may query whether the countess is intended to be a kind of companion portrait to Nero, a living contemporary example of the pernicious effect which one unworthy individual can have on the whole fabric of chivalry and honour. Up to a point the parallel is there. Like

Nero she is wantonly capricious, like Nero she makes unjustifiable demands on those who are pledged to serve her in order to gratify her own sense of power, like Nero she ignores good counsel and acknowledges no law but her own will.[1] But even so, between the cruelty of a hard-hearted mistress and the infamies of one of the most notorious figures in world history there is a gulf so wide that any serious comparison appears grotesquely far-fetched.

Or, looking at the question from another angle, is the story of these two lovers, both so correct and ceremonious at the outset, both so headstrong and unmannerly in their estrangement, perhaps intended to illustrate the whole cycle of the flowering and decay of chivalry compressed into a single anecdote?

Or again, is the connecting thought between the introduction and the main plot the idea of service and reward in the two complementary spheres of Herrendienst and Frauendienst, each with its own prescribed duties and privileges? And if so, are these two placed on an equal footing, or are they presented as an instance, to use Günther Müller's term, of Gradualismus?

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1. One might compare the words applied to Nero: swaz im geriet sîn muot, / des kunde in niht erwenden, / ern müese es mit werken enden (140ff.) with the regrets of the countess: swer êne rât dicke tuot / nâch sînem willen für sich, / den geriuwet es als mich (1758ff.).

All these surmises are plausible, none is finally convincing. For however hard we try to match the two parts of the poem together they cannot be made to fit smoothly in such a way as to provide a coherent sequence of theory and example. The problem of the historical prologue and of its function within the framework of the whole continues to be a stumbling-block for every student of the text. The most we can say is that the poet seems to have used the material provided by his source as a pretext for the exposition of certain abstract principles which to him may have been even more interesting and important than the tale itself. That is, he has superimposed on the straightforward narrative a meaning or message, in medieval German parlance a "sin", in modern German parlance a "Tendenz", which was not entirely appropriate to it. He is honestly wrestling with his thoughts, and this is what makes the prologue, in spite of its tediousness and discursiveness, so illuminating, but they are thoughts suggested by the theme not inherent in its very nature.

All the evidence therefore goes to show that the prologue is largely an addition by the German poet. It only remains to discuss whether he is responsible for the whole of it, or whether the original French poem contained anything which might have served as a basis for his discourse.

The personifying of chivalry or some other virtue as a woman reduced to destitution when those who should befriend and protect her prove faithless is a favourite allegorical figure of speech in medieval French literature,[1] but this is in itself no indication that the motif must have been borrowed from France. The passage already quoted from Chrétien's Cliges, where the vicissitudes of chivalry through the centuries are briefly summarised by way of preface to the main action of the romance, affords the nearest parallel to our text,[2] but the resemblances (e.g. the successive references to Greece, Rome and France) are very general, while the details (e.g. the inclusion of clergie as well as chevalerie, the mention of the name of God) diverge considerably, and we have no reason to suppose that either the German poet or his source drew directly on Chrétien's poem. Still, the introduction to Cliges may not have been the only one of its kind, and the French version of Moriz von Craûn may well have begun with a

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1. E.g. the Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal 6874ff.: Quer chevalerie changa / En long séjor e en peresce; / En orfenté chai largesce ..., or the Roman du Hem 52ff. (ed. A. Henry, Paris 1938): Prouesce et largueseo si Valour / Estoient par lui soustenues, / Qui ore sont povres et nues, / Ne n'osent preudomme esguarder, or Flamenca 234ff.: Malvestatz c'a mes en essil / Valor e so qu'a leis s'atainh / Pres es mortz e Jois sos compain.

2. The analogy was first pointed out by E. Martin in Quellen und Forschungen 42, (Strassburg 1880), p. 28, and again in the ZfdA. 36, 1892, pp. 203f.

similarly rapid sketching in of the historical background.

The writer, however, is disposed to think that the opening lines of the French source corresponded to lines 251ff. of the German poem, where the tense shifts abruptly from the past to the present. More than once there has been occasion to point out that at this juncture the whole focus appears to alter, words like freude and ritterschaft take on new colour, and the emphasis is directed for the first time towards courtly love as an essential ingredient of chivalry. The French original would thus begin with a statement to the effect that "no country has ever been so distinguished for knightliness as France, for there the service of ladies flourishes as never before", and it was this assertion that launched the German poet on his long train of thought reaching backwards into the past over all the previous stages in the history of chivalry. If this were true, the remark wan man lônet baz in dê / danne ninder anderswâ (261f.), which seems so curiously at variance with what follows, would not be an earnest declaration of faith on the part of the German poet, but a light ironic touch such as we find so often in the French conte.

Such tentative conjectures must stop a long way short of proof. When not only points of textual reconstruction and interpretation, but also fundamental questions of aim

and significance baffle the enquirer, the only thing of which we can be certain is our uncertainty.

2.

Nû wol ot her,
swer des ger,
daz er werde ein dienestman
höher minne ûf werden lôn.
Den lâze ich hie
wizzen wie
Vênus gap und geben kan
minne ir zeichen und ir dân.[1]

Nû wizzet, daz ein werder man
rîter wær gar nimmer werden kan,
er minne mit triuwen guotiu wîp.
Zwiu sol eins jungen ritters lîp,
der niht wil werben umbe den solt
den man von werden wîben holt?
der solt kan höchgemüete geben,
mit êren ritterlîches leben.[2]

Seriously as the poet takes rittersehaft, he is even more earnest on the subject of minne. Hardly has he begun his narrative and introduced his two leading characters

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1. Der wilde Alexander (C. v. Kraus, Deutsche Liederdichter des 13. Jhs., I, Tübingen 1952), No. 1, VII, ix, 1ff.

2. Erec. 342, 21ff.

when he breaks off and embarks on a second lengthy disquisition (289-416), this time on the ethics of courtly love, thereby once again slowing down the pace of the action and straining the balance of the composition to its limits. The modern reader may regret that the story, already long delayed, should so soon be interrupted by what he feels to be an unnecessary digression, yet the poet would scarcely endorse this view. It is clear that he himself is deeply concerned with the problems he discusses, and the unusually subjective tone he adopts (we shall later have occasion to return to this point) suggests that he might be writing under the pressure of first-hand experience. He claims to speak with the common voice (Nu sprichet maneger hie bî 307), but his words have the unmistakable ring of personal conviction.

This candour and immediacy, though they add to the interest of his reflections, make them the reverse of lucid. When Baesecke[1] commented on "die Undeutlichkeit mhd. Worte, die Weichlichkeit ihrer Syntax, und insbesondere das Springende und Dunkele der Gedankengänge in solchen selbständigen Einleitungen", the text he had in mind was not

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1. In the article quoted above on Herbort von Fritzlar (ZfdA., 50, 1908, p. 366).

Moriz von Craûn, but it would be hard to find a more apt description of this passage. The thought is extremely involved and awkward, the language is vague and obscure, the ideas are not arranged in any tidy logical sequence, and the corrupt state of the MS. naturally tends to make confusion worse confounded, so that the interpretation of many lines remains doubtful. Nevertheless, when the component strands in this tangle of argument are sorted out, they can be reduced roughly to the following scheme:-

a) The omnipotence and universality of love.

b) The service of love.

c) The rewards of love.

d) The choice of the person to whom service is given and from whom reward is expected.

e) The benefits, moral, social and physical, that accrue from a proper choice.

f) The hero of the tale as a model instance of these principles translated into action.

When during the twelfth century the endless possibilities of love, both as a range of psychological experience and as a topic for poets and philosophers, were being rediscovered in western Europe, one of the first things that must have struck the votaries of this new divinity was its irresistible hold over its victims. Almost the earliest statement about romantic love in medieval German literature,

the often-quoted conversation between Almênfa and Totila in the Kaiserchronik, stresses this:-

4626 Umbe die minne iet is abir sô getân,
da nemac niht lebendes vor bestân.

- and a recognition of the compulsive nature of passion - twingende minne - became an established commonplace in the doctrines of courtly love. But though no living creature could withstand love, the supreme manifestation of its power was the influence it wielded over human beings. In the Middle Ages the authority of the Bible had imprinted on people's minds the firm belief that man had been appointed by God to be master over all the works of His hands,[1] and the realization that there existed a force which could reduce even the wisest, the noblest, and the best among the lords of creation to a condition of abject servitude was calculated not only to stir their imagination, but to gratify the medieval liking for any strong dramatic contrast. Our poet, with his interest in the whole conception of power and conquest, could hardly fail to be impressed by this aspect of love:-

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1. Cf. Thomasin von Zirclaere's Welscher Gast (ed. H. Rückert, Quedlinburg 1852) 8541ff.: swaz vliuget, gât oder swebet / und swaz in der werlde lebet, / daz duit des mannes meisterschaft. The chief Biblical sources for this belief were the account of the creation of Man (Genesis I, 26-30) and Psalm 8, 7-9: constituisti eum super opera manuum tuarum; omnia subjecisti sub pedibus ejus ...

307 Nû sprichet maneger hie bî,
swaz lebendes ûf der erde sî,
ez sî wilde oder zam,
daz müese ein gehôrsam
dem man und sînem lîste:
des wânde ouch ich ê ich wiste
daz des niht wol wesen mac.
Minne twinget sunder slac
einen man noch baz an staete
danne ein keiser taete.

Seeking for words in which to convey their sense of the dominion of minne, it was natural that writers should turn to that form of lordship most familiar in their own day, and represent love as a feudal suzerain with total rights over his subject vassals. On two occasions our poet, describing the effects of love, has recourse to a technical term of feudalism - the phrase tuon und lân.[1] Once it is applied to Moriz himself as a loyal servitor of love:-

317 Als twang ouch disen man ein wân,
daz er muose tuon und lân
swaz im diu Minne gebôt,
ez waere gemach oder nôt.

Later in the poem it is used of the countess who, when her waiting-woman pleads with her to acknowledge love's sovereignty:-

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1. Ulrich von Lichtenstein uses the phrase several times in its proper meaning, e.g. Frd. 503, 27ff.: Hêrre, ich bin iu undertân: / ich sol durch iu tuon und lân / swaz ir welt: daz ist min reht, and again in 501, 25f.: Wir mügen im sîn undertân, / durch in beidiu tuon und lân.

1368 nû enlaezet uns der alte site,
wirn müezen tuon unde lân,
als noch ie wîp hânt getân ...
swie unbetwungen ir noch sît,
ir wizzet doch daz Minne
ist meister aller sinne.

- boastfully repudiates her allegiance:-

1375 nû fürhte deheine ir meisterschaft,
daz si mit bete oder mit kraft
an mir immer gesige.

- and thus brings down on herself the due penalty of disowning fealty to an overlord.

The extent to which love asserted absolute sway over its subjects was further typified by various conventional images, of which our poet, both here and elsewhere in the text, uses some of the most common: the fire of love (321ff.), the burden of love (345ff.), the sickness of love (546ff.), the fetters of love (468f.), the snares of love (1770f.) Anyone who entered so rigorous a service must therefore study how to perform the obligations that will be required of him, and three times, though not in any systematic fashion, the poet draws attention to the distinction between true and false minne.

In the first place, the service of love, like any other form of unconditional sworn duty, was not easy or comfortable. Minnedienst, no less than ritterschaft, demanded strenuous exertion (297) and a willingness to endure sacrifices (326ff.). Selfishness and sloth were as repre-

hensible in the lover as in the fighting man. Notwithstanding all these tribulations, no true lover could regret having committed himself to the venture, for the joy of attainment far outweighed the price that had to be paid in patient and devoted striving (298ff.).[1] Whereas those - and they are many, he says, (Maneger man hât solhen site 387) - who renounce love's service altogether because they shrink from the trials and hardships that await them (388ff.) are fools (âne sin 391), in that they prefer the certainty of loss to the risk of hazarding their all for so great a prise (391ff.).

As he never tires of emphasizing, the one indispensable virtue in love, that virtue which more than any other made Minnedienst at once so costly and so worth-while, was staete:-

341 Swer minnet unde sinne hat,
dem wil ich geben einen rât,
das er unstaete fliehe
und sich an staete ziehe.

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1. Without claiming that the poet elevated Minne to the level of a religion, like Gottfried von Strassburg, there may well be half-conscious echoes in these lines of the Christian idea of "no cross, no crown", expressed in Biblical statements such as that of St. Paul in Romans VIII, 18: existimo enim quod non sunt condignae passiones huius temporis ad futuram gloriam ...

- and the word is reiterated more than half a dozen times in the course of the passage (295, 298, 315, 338, 344, 356, 417). *staete* did not mean constancy or fidelity in the sentimental sense. It is a quality of the mind or will rather than the heart. It meant perseverance, steadiness of purpose, a refusal to be shaken or discouraged by obstacles and delays, a determination to stand to one's pledged word and fulfil one's undertakings. Only *staete* could carry a man through the protracted effort needed before he finally reached the goal of his endeavours. But again, as the poet points out, many are unwilling to take the hard way in love (*unstaete ist in der werlde vil* 348), and not even the spectacle of the rewards conferred on the faithful can cure them of their folly, any more than the sight of a convicted thief on the gallows can induce his former companions to mend their ways (349ff.).

The exercise of *staete* was not confined to the man; it was equally incumbent on the woman. That is, the essence of *minne* lay in a mutual contract of trust and loyalty between two people, each of whom was under a binding obligation to the other. While the *staete* of the man was displayed in the performance of service, that of the woman consisted in the requital of service. True, love brought

its own reward up to a point, though our poet interprets this reward in a rather more external sense than the classic apologists of Minnedienst. For him it was not so much a matter of spiritual or moral ennoblement as of heightened social prestige. A knight who, like Moriz, was renowned for the steadfastness of his devotion enjoyed widespread public acclaim (dienest hât mîn lop braht / von lande ze lande, / dâ man mich für guot erkande 436ff.), and in particular the approbation of all worthy ladies (êre von guoten wîben 401). However, even these benefits, and the increased self-respect and feeling of well-being that resulted from them (höher muot 413), paled into insignificance beside the reward on which the lover's chiefest hopes were set, that factor which alone made his service desirable, or even possible, the Minnelohn in the specific meaning of the term. This word lôn runs like a refrain through the discourse on love and through the long introspective soliloquy of the hero that comes almost immediately afterwards.[1] Without the lôn the knight's schaden und

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1. Umbe lôn was al sin dingen (277 - accepting Pretzel's emendation of this line), daz er lônes wirt gewert (299), wan er wird lônes rîch ein man (306), rehte lônes teil (396), der boesen lôn ist kleine (403), dâ man im gelônen müge (408), vil swache lônent boesiu wîp (409), ir lôn ist êre umbe guot (414), doch muose er lônes biten (420), si lônet mir ze spâte (430), sus lônet mir diu frouwe mîn (439), daz ich weder lôn noch geheiz / nimmer vinde von ir (462f.), lônes siech (471).

arbeit (297) became virtually a waste of energy and outlay; its attainment repaid all his labours and furthermore enhanced his honour in the eyes of the world. Accordingly the lady who accepted service and then withheld the recompense, however reluctant she might be to grant it, however much she might fear to jeopardize her good name, was guilty of a gross breach of faith.

Whether the lover's expectations were fulfilled or no thus depended largely on the probity of the other party in the agreement, so that the choosing of a liege lady became a consideration of prime importance (Swer dienet und gedienen mac, / der diene sô er beste tüge / und dâ man im gelônen müge 406ff.). She was not destined to be held in affection for her own sake, or even valued except impersonally as an object of pursuit, and the dictates of the heart counted for little in the choice. Prudence, good counsel, rational reflection were felt to be much more discriminating arbiters of a lady's worth. In this manner Moriz selects the lady of Beaumont as a suitable recipient of his devotion:-

266 Und rieten im die sinne
das er diente saller stunt
der graevinne von Beamunt,
wan er deheine werder vant.

The one thing required of her was that she should be guot, an expression that is somewhat misleading at first sight, for güete did not imply "goodness", nor even "kindness", like the modern German "Güte", but rather "worthiness". Hence she was not so much loved as esteemed in strict proportion to her deserts. The conviction that merit in women can inspire virtue in men was only natural in a society which was eagerly groping its way from near-barbarism towards an appreciation of the graces and refinements of living, and it belongs to the very earliest stratum of notions about courtly love. It is already put into the mouth of Totila in the Kaiserchronik:-

4628 Swer rehte wirt innen
vrumir wîbe minne ...
die vrouwin machent in gnuoge
hovesc unde kuone.

and it quickly became accepted as an essential principle in the doctrine of minne. One of the surest proofs of güete was precisely a readiness to overcome fears and scruples and to confer the Minnelohn in generous and honourable fashion:-

414 Diu guoten gebent hôhen muot ...
den zal ze rehte ein saelic man
dienen, der gedienen kan.

But just as guotiu wîp had it in their power to confer noble benefits, so boesiu wîp corrupted and demoralised

the men who were so senseless as to seek for reward at their hands:-

409 Vil swache lônent boesiu wîp;
si machent sêle und lîp
den mannen dicke unmaere,
und maneger freuden laere.

Guot signifies "estimable" rather than morally good, and in the same way boese signifies "unworthy of respect" rather than morally bad. Boesiu wîp are to be shunned because they bestow the reward too cheaply and so undermine the whole concept of service; they introduce a mercenary element and so debase the tone of the relationship to the level of a commercial transaction; they tempt the man to snatch at the momentary gratification of the senses and so weaken his capacity for staete.

The problem of false minne is treated in 359ff., an exceptionally difficult and controversial passage, where the poet's inability to carry through a train of abstract reasoning has resulted in such confusion that many critics believe the MS. text to be incomplete, though opinions are divided as to where the lacuna actually occurs.[1] However,

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1. Schroeder places the lacuna after 374, Willmanns after 365. The present writer agrees with Pretzel that the MS. text can be made to give a connected sense as it stands.

the general sense of the lines is fairly clear. The two partners in this shameful dealing which, says the poet, is so common nowadays (in der werlte vert 361), and which does such damage to the cause of true love (diu guoter minne vil verhert 362), are üppic und irre (367) - whether these words are epithets or personified abstractions is immaterial to the argument. That is, the sensuality of the man (üppic) and the wantonness of the woman (irre) are drawn to each other by mutual attraction and thereby tend to become aggravated (üppiger alle sit 375). Nevertheless it is better that such people should keep to each other's company (si sint aber noch bas gemeine 374) since they are beyond praying for (für die boesen ich nicht bite; / die tuon als ir reht si 370f.), and the poet's main concern is that the taint should not spread to those who are still uncontaminated by it (das si got den guoten virre! / wan sie verderbent sich dâ mite 368f.).

The most conspicuous symptom of this depravity lies in the fact that the woman is willing to accept payment for her favours and the man is willing to give it, thus reversing the normal process of the Minnelohn (wan sie nimet und er gît 379). All the same, such women are, in the poet's opinion, less blameworthy than the men who

encourage them, for he admits that he himself might be persuaded to do for remuneration (durch miete 377) what he would never consent to do if it involved him in material loss (solt ich darumbe geben guot 379). Acting thus, a man is doubly base, in that he is responsible both for his own and for another person's degradation (sô ist ir laster gufvalt, / der mit guote laster giltet 382f.); and he is doubly foolish, in that he loses both his honour and the price of his pleasures (ez ist missetât, / swer êre durch gelüste lât 385f.). His bargain is indeed a worthless one (disen market maneger schiltet 384).

What does the poet mean by venal love of this kind? It is unlikely that he is thinking of traffic with professional prostitutes. Irre is normally the antithesis of staete,[1] and the expression irriu wîp,[2] like its English equivalent wild women,[3] was a standard medieval designation

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1. Cf. Hartmann's Iwein, 2890ff: ein wîp, die man hât erkant / in alsô staetem muote, / diun darf nicht mêre huote / wan ir selber êren; / man sol die huote kêren / an irriu wîp und an kint.

2. Cf. Freidank's Bescheidenheit (ed. W. Grimm, Göttingen 1860), 48, 9f: irriu wîp zorn unde spil, / diu machent tumber liute vil.

3. An eleventh-century preacher, in a sermon published by Max Foerster in Anglia XLII, 1918, pp. 152ff., describes how wilde wimmen & golme i mi contreie sing love-songs in the dance. The phrase even survives into balladry. In "Lord Thomas and Lady Margaret" (Child, No. 260, A.3.) the girl follows her cruel lover to the greenwood and is driven away: Go hunt, go hunt that wild woman, / Go hunt her far from me.

for women of lax morals, but not necessarily courtesans. Love on these terms was ignoble not simply because of the ingrained distaste of chivalric culture for anything that savoured of trade and barter, but also because such women were for the most part of a social rank far below that of the man who stooped to purchase their favours. Our poet himself admits in their defence that their shamelessness is often a result of poverty (sie machet nôtdurft balt 381).

His attack seems therefore to be directed primarily against the casual dalliance of knights with girls of inferior standing, in other words, against what is commonly known as niedere Minne. In niedere Minne a gift, usually a belt or embroidered purse or article of dress rather than money, was taken for granted as the price of the girl's acquiescence. Occasionally the man had not the wherewithal to gain his ends, like Steinmar:-

> Der ich hân dâ her gesungen,
> diust ein kluoge dienerinne.
> nâch irre minne
> hân ich vil gerungen.
> Gelungen
> ist mir niht an ir,
> wan si wolte guot von mir.[1]

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1. Bartsch, Liederdichter. LXXVI, 127ff.

Occasionally the girl's virtue is proof against all bribes:-

> 'Belle, voilliez que vostre amor soit moie;
> Je vos donrai amoniere de soie.'
> 'Sire', dist la bergiere,
> 'N'ai soing de vos juwals ...
> Raleiz vos an, ke Robins ne vos voie,
> Li biaus, li dous, a cui mes cuers s'otroie.'[1]

More usually she proves compliant. So Neidhart's village wenches twice boast of the presents their lovers have brought them - one a red belt with a glass buckle, <u>dan brahte ein ritter mir dâ hêr von Wiene</u>;[2] the other a pair of red boots, <u>zwêne rôte golzen brahte er hêr mir über Rîne</u>.[3] The motif is even more stereotyped in the French <u>pastourelle</u>. No fewer than thirty-nine instances of it occur in Bartsch's <u>Romanzen und Pastourellen</u>, of which two typical examples may perhaps be quoted here:-

> 'Touze, juaulz et bone robe entiere,
> Senture et gans avreis et amoniere,
> Se vos voleis.'
> Les juaulz li ai moustreis,
> Dix 'teneis!'[4]

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1. Bartsch, <u>RP</u>. II, 33, 11ff.
2. Neidharts <u>Lieder</u> (ed. M. Haupt, 2nd edn. rev. E. Wiessner, Leipzig 1923), Unechtes Lied XLV, 29f.
3. <u>Ibid</u>., Lied 21, 16.
4. Bartsch, <u>RP</u>, II, 3, 48ff.

Presentai li m'amoniere,
K'est a or broudee.
Elle l'ait regairdee,
Ne l'ait pas refusee;
Je de li mes volunteis fix.[1]

This is minne at its lowest depth, and one can understand how all who cherished the ideals of courtly love would regard it with horror and contempt. But the very rarefied nature of these ideals inevitably tended to produce its own counter-reaction, and the extent to which a crudely realistic attitude towards love must have been prevalent in actual life among all sections of society can be judged from the many other voices besides that of our poet raised against it in indignation, sorrow or warning. So Gottfried von Strassburg laments:-

Minn', aller herzen künegîn,
diu frîe, diu eine,
diu ist umb kouf gemeine.[2]

- and his words are echoed by "der tugendhafte Schreiber":-

Minn ê was so tiure, das man sie mit guote
niht kunde vergelten ...
sist worden so geile,
swer sich ir wil nieten,
deme ist sie veile
kan er hôhe mieten.[3]

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1. Ibid., II, 16, 47ff.
2. Tristan, 12304ff.
3. Kraus, Liederdichter des 13. Jhs., 53, III, 1ff.

Walther von der Vogelweide admonishes both sexes alike:-

> Wolveile unwirdet manegen lîp.
> ir werden man, ir reiniu wîp,
> niht ensît durch kranke miete veile.[1]

and the French moralist Robert de Blois in his Chastoiement des Dames[2] expressly points out the disgrace of accepting a lover's gifts:-

> Et bien sachiez, s'ele les prent,
> Cil qui li done chier li vent.
> Car tas li coustent son honor
> Li joiel donné par amor.

When he deplores the growing abuse of minne in his day, our poet is thus aligning himself with the general verdict of his contemporaries, and the same thing is true of his more positive judgements. Here too every thought, almost every turn of phrase, can be paralleled from other Middle High German writings, though, for obvious reasons of space, it is not possible to cite more than a handful of the numerous quotations that might be adduced to illustrate this.

Some of his ideas, as we have seen, go back to the very beginnings of the cult of minne. Many more, especially

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1. Walther's Gedichte, ed. C. v. Kraus (Berlin 1950), 81, 15ff.

2. Ed. Barbazon-Méon, Fabliaux et contes des poètes français des XIe, XIIe, XIIIe, XIVe, et XVe siècles (4 vols., Paris 1808), II, pp. 184-219, Section VII.

those concerning the all-conquering power of love, its symptoms, its torments, and its raptures can be found in Veldeke's Eneide. For instance, when Lavinia questions her mother: 'dorch got, wat es minne?' (9799), she receives the answer: 'sî es van anegenge / geweldich over die werelt al, / end iemer mêre wesen sal / went an den soendach, / dat her nieman enmach / neheine wîs wederstân' (9800ff.), and when the girl herself succumbs to the darts of Venus she admits the truth of the older woman's words: 'du bedwingres al gelîke / arme ende rîke, / dat man dir der meisterskepe giet' (10285ff.). Enquiring further into the nature of love she is told that it involves great suffering, but that these afflictions are compensated many times over by the joy to which they lead (her ongemac es soete 9865; gemach komet van arbeide 9875; and especially the passage 9898ff.). The imagery used to describe the effects of love is identical with that of our text (e.g. der minnen fûre 819; der minnen stricke 1641; sî maket en skiere ongesont 9832; Minne, ûwer borde es mir te swîr 11110; wê hat mir sus gebonden / mîn herte? 10071f.).

On the other hand the conception of Frauendienst is still lacking in the Eneide. We hear nothing about staete (apart from two unimportant references in 10367 and 11507), or about the lôn, and the only allusions to dienest are

put into the mouth of a woman, as when Dido, deserted by Aeneas, laments: 'ich hân min dienest verloren' (2120), or when Lavinia sends a message to the Trojan hero beginning: 'Et entbüdet Lâvîne / Enêâse den rîken / her dienest innelîke' (10794ff.).

In Hartmann von Aue's earliest important work, the so-called Büchlein,[1] written about twenty years after the Eneide, a great change can be observed. The doctrine of courtly love is already fully developed, and though the old elementary motif of Love the Conqueror still persists (Minne waltet grôzer kraft. / wande sî wirt sigehaft / an tumben und an wîsen ... / vil gewalticlîchen / betwanc sî einen jungeling 1ff.), it is a particular individual rather than an abstract idea that now claims the lover's primary allegiance. The Büchlein falls into two sections, a long disputatio between the Heart and the Body of the lover, and a final plea addressed directly to the lady herself; in both the principle of service and reward, involving reciprocal rights and obligations, is set forth along lines exactly similar to our text.

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1. Ed. F. Bech under the title of "Die klage" (Hartmann von Aue, Deutsche Klassiker des Mittelalters, Leipzig 1891, II, pp. 42ff.).

Frauendienst is conceived of in feudal terms (ir ingesinde 621; daz ich dienesthaft belîbe / einem alsô schoenen wîbe 1073f.; ir dienestman 1568), and it is offered to one woman alone as the noblest representative of her sex (daz ich ûz al der werlt ein wîp / ze frouwen über mînen lîp / für sî haete niht erkorn 107ff.). The choice has not been made lightly (swer ahte hât ûf minne, / der darf wol schoener sinne 607f.; mich hiezen dîne sinne / ir dienen umbe minne 81f.), for the lady must be truly worthy (guot, 130, 152, 175, 1227, 1493, 1631, etc.) and the Heart claims that it has always acted as a loyal counsellor in this respect (sô weist dû wol daz ich dich nie / boesiu dinc gewinnen lie 563f.). The service of love is arduous (dâ gehoeret arbeit zuo ... / minne machet niemen frî / ze grôzem gemache 613ff.; dû muost mit herten dingen / nâch ir hulden ringen 635f.), and demands staete (ûf staeter minne wân 231; in staeteclîchem muote 1549; wis staete, daz ist der beste list 1615). But the lover trusts that all his pains will be recompensed when the lady at length looks favourably upon him (wie wol es mir ergienge / ob sî mîn genâde vienge 85f.; ob sî dîn dienest twinget, / daz dir an ir gelinget, / dû wirst der saeligiste man / der in der werlt ie lieb gewan 593ff.). He implores her to hasten the time of his felicity (Frôuden gedulde ich armuot /

in grôzer armüete ... / dun genâdest mir und sîst mir guot / durch wîplîche güete 1785ff.) Even without the Minnelohn he is sure of the world's praise (enphâhe ichs nimmer lôn von ir, / dannoch frumet es mir, / daz mirz diu werlt ze guote verstât / und mich deste lieber hât 1099ff.), but he makes no secret of his real desire (lônes wert 234; âne lôn 285; (minne)lônet vaste wol 620; der minne lônes 630; lônes gern 639, etc.). The whole matter is summed up in the final consolation of the Heart to the Body:-

1631 ist sî danne ein guot wîp,
sich, sô lônet sî dir, lîp.

Roughly contemporaneous with the Büchlein and resembling it very closely in both thought and expression are the lyrics of the first generation of true Minnesänger - poets like Meinloh von Sevelingen, Dietmar von Eist II, Der Burggraf von Rietenburg, Friedrich von Hausen, Ulrich von Gutenburg and Albrecht von Johandsdorf.

Here we find the same fanciful use of feudal terminology (Ich bin holt einer frouwen, Meinloh 13, 1,[1] vil gar ir eigen ist mîn lîp, Dietmar 35, 14, etc.), and the same

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1. This and the following references are taken from the 1950 edition of Des Minnesangs Frühling.

aspects of dienest are selected for emphasis. The lady is chosen from all others (ein ritter, der dich hât erwelt / ûz al der werlte in sîn gemüete, Dietmar 38, 16f.; ich hân erkorn ûz allen wîben, Hausen 50, 31), and she is chosen for her deserts (man sol die biderben und die guoten / vallen zîten haben lieb, Dietmar 33, 31f.; man sol mîden hoenen kranc / und minnen reiniu wîp, Johansdorf 88, 37f.; si ist wol wert daz man si minne, Hausen 50, 22). The joys of love can only be attained by one who is willing to endure trial and suffering (ich hôrte wîlent sagen ein maere ... / wie minne ein saelic arbeit waere, Rietenburg 18, 25f.; wer möhte hân grôze vröide âne kumber? / nâch solher swaere rang ich alle zît, Hausen 44, 1f.), and this is impossible without the virtue of staete (unstaetiu friuntschaft machet wankelen muot, Meinloh 12, 18f.). Staete is required not only of the man (mîn herze ist ir ingesinde / und wil ouch staete an ir bestân, Hausen 50, 15f.; (ich) biute ir staeten dienest mîn, Rietenburg 18, 23), but also of the woman (mich heisent sîne tugende / daz ich vil staete minne pflege, Meinloh 14, 32f.; ich wil im iemer staete sîn. / er kan mir grôzer arebeit gelônen nâch dem willen mîn, Dietmar 38, 11f.) The reward of service is kept firmly in view (doch ist ein site der niemen zimet, / swer dienest ungelônet nimet, Heinrich von Rugge 104, 19f.; dâz sol ich

lôn enphân / von der selben diech dâ meine, Hausen 49, 23f.; noch gedinge ich, der ich vil gedienet hân, / daz sî mir es lônes, Johansdorf 90, 39f.), and more than one poet projects his demands into a Frauenlied, in which an imaginary speaker is made to voice the proper attitude of mind for a worthy lady ('Mir hât ein ritter' sprach ein wîp / 'gedienet nâch dem willen mîn. /ê sich verwandelôt diu zît / sô muoz im doch gelônet sîn', Namenlose Lieder 6, 5ff.; lâze ab ich in ungewert, / daz iet ein lôn der guotem manne nie geschach ... / ich wil tuon den willen sîn, Hausen 54, 21f., 28).

Hartmann refrains from discussing the precise nature of the coveted lôn, but these early lyric poets are perfectly open on the subject, as their many explicit references to umbevân, bî geligen, show (e.g. Der al diu welt geschaffen hât, / der gebe der lieben noch die sinne / daz sî mich mit armen umbevâ / und mich von rehtem herze minne, Dietmar 38, 23ff.; frô enwirt er niemer / ê er an dînem arme sô rehte güetliche gelît, Meinloh 14, 11f.; Sô wol mich liebes des ich hân / umbevangen, Dietmar 36, 23f.).

As chivalric culture mounts towards its highest peak of literary achievement these rather more earth-bound notions tend to drop away. They have no place in the works of the great masters of courtly lyric and romance, all of

whom were in their very different ways men of strongly idealistic temper. But the evolution of courtly literature is like the trajectory of an arrow shot from a bow. Once the highest point of flight is passed and the momentum starts to fail, the pull of gravity makes itself felt and the downward curve begins. So in the Minnesang of the post-classical period the old sensual streak comes out again, and once more we find the cycle of kiesen - arebeit - staete - genâde - gûete - lôn, with its novelty now faded, and its original enthusiasm a little dimmed, but even more uncompromisingly insistent on an equal balance between the claims of both partners in the relationship.

The writings of Ulrich von Lichtenstein afford perhaps the most perfect illustration of this, for not only does he enunciate the theory of courtly love in his lyric poetry, but he has also given us a graphic, though probably largely fictitious,[1] account of how he upheld them in actual practice. His pseudo-autobiography, in which

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1. The authenticity of Ulrich's narrative has been investigated in detail by R. Becker, Wahrheit und Dichtung in Ulrich v. Lichtenstein's Frauendienst (Halle 1888).

quixotic idealism and business-like calculation, solemnity and ironic laughter, the world of fantasy and the world of fact are jumbled together in a single kaleidoscopic medley, provides the most complete and lively picture we possess of a Minneverhältnis according to the rules of the game, and we may note that it follows very much the same course as that of our hero.

Ulrich likewise professes an ardent faith in the value of Minnedienst: sî jehent, es sî gar ze êren guot, / daz hôch gemuotes ritters lîp / diene unde werbe umb werdiu wîp, (21, 18ff.)[1] in spite of the hardships that he knows he must undergo (Nideriu minne, an freuden tôt / ist er, dem sie an gesigt. / Gibt diu hôhe senede nôt, / doch wol im, der der selben pfligt! / Sie gît sorge, und ist diu sorge freuden rîch, Lied III, 59, 1ff.). Accordingly he chooses one lady with care as the object of devotion, the lady herself of course not being consulted in the matter. However, having decided that she and no other is to be the guiding star of his life (Dô sprach min herze wider mich: / 'guot vriunt, geselle, wil dû dich / für eigen einer vrowen geben / und ir ze dienest immer leben, / daz sol disiu vrowe sîn.' 5, 13ff.), he proceeds to perform at great expense and trouble

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1. This and the following references are taken from the Frauendienst.

to himself various unsolicited exploits on her behalf, in which he combines extravagant humility towards her with invincible boldness towards everyone else. He also remains unswervingly faithful to her, and when the sight of a particularly beautiful woman once tempts him to falter in his loyalty his staete promptly recalls him to his duty (Dô ich sî an von hertzen sach, / diu staete mîn sô guo mir sprach: / 'wie nû? wie nû? was sol daz sîn? / wem wilt du lân di vrowen dîn? ... / tuo hin! dîn muot ist gar enwiht. / ich gestate dir sölher dinge niht,' 281, 1ff.). At last he judges that the moment has come for him to claim his reward and he requests it of her in public with the most devastating frankness (sol mich mîn kunft her niht gefromen, / sô daz ich iu gelige bî, / sô bin ich immer vreuden vrî, 353, 24ff.; nû lât in iwern hulden sîn, / daz ich iu hie gelige bî, / als liep iu wîplich güete sî, 362, 22ff.). The lady, who has been an unwilling participant in the affair from the start, rejects his demands, though her waiting-women who are present at this scene intercede for him ('nû seht, vrowe, wie ir gevart, / sô daz ir, vrowe, iwer êre bewart,' 359, 19f.; 'lât in geniezen, vrowe mîn, / daz er iu kan sô staete sîn,' 374, 19f.), and assure him that all will be well if he is patient ('nû tuo gar, swaz ir wille sî: / sô mahtu ir geligen bî / in kurzen zîten endelîch', 352, 31ff.)

When eventually the lady is guilty of some unspecified but clearly unpardonable manifestation of unstaete, the resentful knight breaks off all dealings with her (Ir unstaete hât die kraft / und an ir behabt dâ her die meisterschaft, Lied XXII, 417, 24f.), casts round him for a suitable successor and transfers his homage to this new idol without so much as blinking (Ich gedâhte dort, ich gedâhte hie, / ich gedâhte an dise, ich gedâht an die, / swaz mir dô frowen was bekant ... / Do daz erdâht gar al mîn lîp, / do nam ich daz wîl werde wîp / ze frowen in daz hertze mîn, 439, 22ff., 440, 3ff.).

Despite all these dramatic posturings Ulrich is by no means such a slave to courtly notions as appearances would suggest. His affection - as distinct from his adoration - is plainly reserved for his wife, and many times when his tourneying journeys bring him within reach of home he slips away:-

318, 25 suo der vil lieben konen mîn,
diu künde mir lieber niht gesîn,
swie ich doch het über mînen lîp
ze vrowen dô ein ander wîp.

There is real warmth in his account of one such flying visit:-

222, 5 Diu guot enpfie mich alsô wol,
also von reht ein vrowe sol
enphâhen ir vil lieben man ...
si sach mich gern; als tet ich sie,
mit küssen mich diu guot enphie.

222, 13 Diu reine mich vil gerne sach,
mit freuden het ich dâ gemach
und wunne uns an den dritten tac.

- and he affirms the more solid ideals of conjugal loyalty with no less conviction than the romantic aspirations of Minnedienst:-

251, 22 ein biderbe man sol sîn guot wîp
reht haben als sich selben gar.

He is far from believing that the Minnedame has unchallenged rights over her servitor, and he permits himself, indirectly, one or two very dry remarks on the subject of liege-ladies in general, as when he makes a messenger say:-

327, 21 'die frowen sint vil wunderlich.
si wellent, das man staeteclich
ir willen tuo; swer dee niht tuot
gein dem sint sî niht wol gemuot.'

- a daring assertion that is allowed to pass unrebuked. In other words, the lady remains on her pedestal only as long as the knight thinks fit to keep her there, and when Ulrich's pride and sense of justice are injured he retaliates quite as violently as Moriz.

Our poet lacks the sparkle and individuality of Ulrich; he is more concerned with the social and ethical than with the romantic and aesthetic aspects of Minnedienst; but both Moriz von Craûn and Frauendienst are without question products of the same general climate of opinion.

Each shows an undisguised conflict between exalted ideals and everyday practice, between generosity and callousness, between self-dedication and self-interest. Each shows a tendency to lapse from the high-flown into burlesque - the episode of the rendezvous in Frauendienst (stanzas 1124ff.), like the bedroom scene in Moriz von Craûn, borders on caricature, and even the tournament descriptions in both works reveal unexpected touches of parody. Each presupposes in its main characters a complete disregard of moderation and restraint - neither Ulrich nor Moriz nor their respective ladies would, one feels, rate mâze[1] very high in their catalogue of virtues. Similarly none of the four sets much store by triuwe,[2] which is to the heart what staete is to the mind or will, for in each case the bond that unites the lovers is no more than a bargain of conventionalised desire and conventionalized surrender. Finally, both works turn on a fundamentally straightforward issue; neither pretends to be subtle or paradoxical or intellectual in its approach, and though each deals with

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1. The word mâze never occurs in the main narrative at all (unmâze is used once in the Nero episode (218)).

2. The word triuwe only occurs twice in the whole poem, both times as the formula mit triuwen, which appears once in the discourse on love (300) and once in the dialogue between Moriz and the waiting-woman (1518).

a *casus* in love, neither is an example of what we now imply by "casuistry".

One must naturally be wary about claiming insight into the truth of a past age, but this double testimony suggests that the level of vision represented by our text may well correspond to the verities of ordinary chivalric existence. For though the relationship of literature to life is another sphere where the explorer in retrospect must proceed with the greatest caution, all the evidence seems to indicate that chivalric reality and its literary expression did not follow an identical curve of development, but were separated by a gap, comparatively narrow at first, considerably wider during the *Blütezeit*, and gradually closing again during the post-classical period. In other words, while poetic idealism might for a time become airborne, life itself continued to keep its feet firmly planted on the ground.

If this is so, we are perhaps entitled to see in Moriz and the countess an authentic picture of the normal attitude of chivalric society towards *Minnedienst*. As a study in human reactions it rings extraordinarily true. On one hand we have the average knight (if such a term be permissible), the *chevalier moyen sensuel*, willing to conform to

the custom of his day and subscribe to whatever ideals befitted his station, though interpreting them in terms of etiquette rather than any transcendental aspirations, willing to harness his personal ambitions to the cause of love, willing even to concede a genuine value to moral endeavour in the name of love, yet always retaining his ultimate freedom of action and his sense of primacy as against the woman. On the other hand we have the countess, pursued with her reluctant consent and more than half against her wishes, loath to risk betrayal and disgrace, because die man sint unstaete (1353) and their noble professions are not always to be trusted,[1] yet still pleasurably conscious of her power and unable to refrain from putting it to the proof beyond its appointed limits. It is a relationship based on tension and, unsupported by respect or liking or even common sympathy, it can only lead to strife and estrangement.

How much our poet's reflections on love may owe to any precise literary model we cannot tell. On grounds of date alone we can exclude Frauendienst from the list of writings by which he could have been influenced, in spite of the many affinities between the two works. As we have

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1. Hartmann discusses this selfsame point in the Büchlein, 217ff.

already seen, he certainly knew Veldeke's Eneide and some critics believe that he knew and used Hartmann's Büchlein.[1] We may also assume that he was in some measure acquainted with the lyrics of the Minnesänger, especially those of Rhenish poets like Hausen. But both his language and his thought can be paralleled so widely that it is impossible to assign them to any one definite source. Indeed he may simply be drawing on the phraseology and ideas that were in general currency at the time quite independent of literature.

They were, of course, equally current in France; every line in the discourse on love and in Moris' soliloquy on love (426-523) could be matched with its French equivalent. Nevertheless, though the latter may well be derived at any rate in part from the original French version of the text,[2]

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1. Cf. Bech, ZfdPh. 29, 1896, 169f. There are quite a few verbal correspondences between the two poems which would appear to bear out this theory; e.g. MvC. 1021f.: waer er betalle ein heiden / von der kristenheit gescheiden and Büchl. 209f.: ob ich waere ein heiden / von der kristenheit gescheiden; MvC. 395: êre durch sin heil and Büchl. 249: êre unde ein heil.

2. More than one of the "courtly" fabliaux or the Lais contains monologues of a very similar type (e.g. Guillaume au Faucon, MR. No. XXXV, 139ff., and the Lai de l'Ombre, ed. J. Orr, Edinburgh 1948, 152ff.); the style of the soliloquy is perceptibly different from that of the discourse, being much less sententious and much more fluent and rhetorical; it is even possible to guess at one or two of the original French rhymes lying just below the surface of the German, e.g. prison/garison, 469f.; tort/confort, 495f.; pesans/besans, 450f.

the former seems to be wholly an interpolation by the German poet. Its didactic tenor, its touch of pedantry, its honesty, its moral seriousness, its very unwieldiness and awkwardness all mark it as his work. It has been inserted bodily into its context, with the joins at the beginning and the end still plainly visible (289, 416), and it could be lifted away without disrupting the continuity of the narrative in the slightest. More conclusive still than any of these is the extremely subjective flavour that pervades it. The poet may occasionally, as we have shown, laugh at some of the follies and absurdities of Minnedienst in practice, but the principles themselves are sacred, and though a hundred other people have already said the identical thing in identical words, for him they are still true and significant. Nowhere else in the poem is the word ich used with such conscious force, as though the writer had identified himself so completely with his theme that he could not refrain from setting his personal seal of affirmation to every statement:-

312f. des wânde ouch ich ê ich wiste
das des niht wol wesen mac.

342 dem wil ich geben einen rât.

350 den gelîche ich den dieben.

359 Ich möhte in vil hin abe sagen:

360 Ich muoz ein ander dinc klagen.

370 für die boesen ich niht bite.

377 ich taste ouch durch miete.

393ff. ich zalte ze gewinne
swenn ich vorderlîcher minne
von dienste oder êre durch mîn heil
erwürbe rehte lônes teil.

Like any good preacher he includes himself in his own message (Daz selbe spriche ich an mich 397), but his audience is equally present to his consciousness. It is as though he were haranguing them face to face, urging his convictions upon them (ir sult wissen daz für wâr 328), offering them advice (Swer minnet unde sinne hât / dem wil ich geben einen rât 341f.), inviting them to follow his argument (ich sage iu wie sie sint genant 366). Such expressions are more than mere formulae with no other function than to fill out the line or supply a rhyme. The subject, like the tale of Troy, is genuinely dear to the poet's heart (Ich möhte iu vil hin abe sagen 359).

One would give a lot to know what lies behind this attitude; whether he is speaking from first-hand experience as well as first-hand conviction; whether his views were inspired by the story of Moriz and the countess or whether, conversely, the story was chosen because it illustrated his

views. But whatever else he may owe to his source, this passage at least he has made entirely his own.

3.

'Farewell,' she said, 'ye maidens all,
And shun the fault I fell in;
Henceforth take warning by the fall
Of cruel Barbara Allen.'

As the German poet ushers in his tale with a double prologue, so he also furnishes it with an epilogue. About the provenance of the last eight lines there can be no doubt whatsoever, for in them he explains the difficulties of German as a medium for rhymed verse composition, and apologizes for the inadequacy of his skill.[1]

The present writer would go further and contend that a good part of the previous fifty lines (from 1726 onwards)

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1. Though such deprecatory formulae are found at all periods in medieval literature (see J. Schwietering, Die Demutsformel mhd. Dichter, Göttingen 1921) they tended to become increasingly frequent during the post-classical decades; W. Rehm in an article entitled "Kulturverfall und spätmittelhochdeutsche Didaktik" (ZfdPh. 52, 1927, 289ff.) says on p. 306 that, during the Epigonenzeit, "Formeln für die eigene dichterische Unfähigkeit und geistige Unzulänglichkeit gegen vereinzelten früheren Gebrauch sich immer mehr häufen". However, in the case of Moriz von Craûn the words might well be something more than a formula, for the poet has clearly not found the task of metrical composition an easy one.

must likewise be attributed to him. Here we are on much less certain ground than with the historical introduction or the discourse on love, but one or two suggestive facts can be adduced in favour of this conclusion. The episode is a very brief one. It opens with the countess standing forsaken and dejected at her window bewailing her fate, yet compelled to admit that the fault is hers alone. Her waiting-woman by chance overhears her and the two engage in a dialogue which gradually leads up to a final peroration by the countess. The waiting-woman, though pitying her distress (1739f.) reminds her mistress that she had been forewarned what would be the consequences of her harshness (1740-42), and the countess admits the truth of this (1743), regretting bitterly, though alas, too late, that she had not heeded the advice of her faithful confidante (1755-57). She acknowledges herself guilty of two grievous offences: she has rejected sound and loyal counsel (1758-61) and she has claimed for her sex the sole prerogative in love (1762-65). Now her life's happiness is forfeit (1768f.) and she has no choice but to endure the just penalty of her misdoing (1770f.). Finally, turning to the audience and speaking as it were with the voice of the poet, she presents herself as a living example of the pride that goes before a fall,

exhorting all lovers to take warning by her and beware lest they stumble into like folly and suffer a like punishment:-

1772 'von diu rât ich in allen,
swer staeticlîcher minne
hinnen fûr beginne,
das der an mînen kumber sehe
und hüet das im alsam geschehe.'

Three things about this passage indicate that it is largely the work of the German poet. In the first place there is the heavily didactic tendency; the moral - and it is a moral entirely consistent with the views expressed in the discourse on love - must be driven home at all costs, even to the point of making the countess publish an explicit recantation of her errors. In the second place, the tone of these lines is quite different from either the racy vigour of the bedroom scene or the elegaic charm of the countess' soliloquy in the spring dawn. Narrative has given way to abstract argument, poetry has given way to sober wisdom. The style too, as with all those sections of the text for which the German poet is most probably responsible, shows a certain awkwardness and confusion which has evidently perplexed the scribe of the MS., or one of his predecessors, and has resulted in several corrupt readings.

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1. No editor has yet succeeded in making fully satisfactory sense of 1744ff., and the MS. readings of both 1761 and 1778 are quite unintelligible as they stand.

In the third place, there is the importance of the rôle assigned to the _juncfrouwe_.

The development of her character from the conventional _pucele_ or _meschine_ of chivalric literature in France, half soubrette, half go-between, into a highly effective foil to the personality of the heroine is perhaps the German poet's most successful contribution to his theme.[1] She stands between the lovers, by far the most sympathetic character of the three and the only one who shows herself capable of positive kindliness and goodwill. Towards Moriz she behaves with a warmth and loyalty that contrast strongly with the haughty coldness of the countess;[2] she pleads his cause with eloquence, she braves her mistress' wrath on his behalf, and she is moved to sincere regret at the downfall of his hopes. Towards the countess, even after the churlish and unjust treatment she has received at her hands, she can still feel compassion, and she grieves for her grief (1729-33, 1738f.). Of her alone it can be said: _(si) tete rehte als man sol_ (1672).

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1. One might compare the way in which the character of Lunete in Hartmann's _Iwein_ has been expanded into a full-length portrait, carefully and tenderly drawn.

2. Although she normally uses the courteous _ir_ when conversing with Moriz, by an unusually delicate stroke of artistry the poet allows her to lapse into the intimate _du_ as she addresses the sleeping knight (1296-1305).

But the poet also uses her as a mouthpiece for his own opinions and hence, according to his belief, for the opinions of all right-thinking people. Earlier in the poem she forecasts the verdict of society ('gwenne man die schande / erveret after lande, / sô komet ir nimmer mêre / wider an iuwer êre' 1305ff.); when the offence has been committed she is there passing sentence of condemnation ('mîn frouwe hât missetân / des si immer muoz schaden hân; / ir hât ir êre verlorn / ein unwîplicher zorn' 1407ff.); and now in the closing scene she is there again at her mistress' side to see her judgement vindicated ('ich saget iu ê die wârheit: / dô moht ir des gelouben niet, / sô wizzet doch daz ichz iu riet' 1740ff.).

If we are correct in assuming that all these traits are characteristic of the German poet rather than his source, one other passage occurring slightly earlier in the text can also be laid to his account - the little parenthesis 1671-78. It is quite out of place in its present context, for it breaks the thread of the narrative between the countess' first monologue (1651-70) and the reverdie which should follow on immediately (Dirz was an der stunde ... 1679). The brief and abrupt allusion to the waiting-woman in 1671f. is a somewhat clumsy anticipation of her second and more important appearance on the stage in the final dialogue.

And the only reason why this passage seems to have been introduced at all is to prepare the way for the moral to be hammered home in the concluding lines, by holding up the figure of the *junefrouwe* as an example of the loyal friendship that in moments of disaster is ready with good counsel beforehand[1] and sympathy and help afterwards.

Beyond this it is impossible to tell exactly how far the German poet has adapted or expanded his source, and how far he has added completely new material. There are no clear-cut lines of division as, for instance, in the case of the discourse on love. But although the French original may well have ended with the lady lamenting her sad plight to her *pucele*[2] and perhaps with the *pucele* pointing out that she had brought it on herself, yet it was assuredly the German poet who took the additional step and used her fate as the text for a sermon addressed to society at large.

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1. The duty of offering and accepting advice in the name of friendship was a very common medieval notion; cf. Petrus Alphonsus, *Disciplina clericalis* (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CLVII, col. 671ff.) IV, 2: *consule amico tuo in bonum quantum poteris, etiamsi tibi credere noluit*, etc., and *Frauendienst*, 3, Büchlein, 382, 21f.: *nu rætet und lêret wol / als friunt friunte râten sol*. But our poet emphasizes it unusually strongly, not only here but earlier in the text where the ignoring of counsel is given as one of the reasons for the downfall of Nero.

2. On more than one occasion in *Sone de Nansay* the passionate outbursts of Yde in similar circumstances are witnessed by her waiting-woman Sabine.

No method of winding up a story is so satisfactory as a good resounding moral, and the end of Moriz von Craûn is far more impressive than the beginning. Discursiveness would have blunted its edge and perhaps it was the poet's very eagerness to finish his task that saved him from his besetting temptation. For the slow leisurely prolixity that encumbers the opening sections now quickens and tautens as he hurries toward the moment when he can at last lay down his pen and say with evident relief:-

Nû lâzet dise rede varn.

Chapter Three

THE TOURNAMENT

When the countess demands that Moriz shall prove his worth both as a knight and as a lover by arranging a tournament in her honour, we feel that she is speaking with the authentic voice of the age of chivalry. The tournament has indeed always been reckoned the most typical and absolute manifestation of the chivalric outlook. No attempt to reconstruct a society of brave knights and fair ladies is complete without a tourney as one of the highlights of the picture, from the lists at Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Ivanhoe to the Arthurian films and "Black Knight" strip cartoons of the present day. Long after chivalry was defunct as a social force, people strove to preserve the illusion of life in it by holding tournaments of increasingly empty splendour. Even up to quite recent times jousts have occasionally been staged (usually with absurd, if not ignominious results), as a public spectacle, an extravagant whim, or a romantic gesture of homage to some idealised image of the Middle Ages.[1]

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1. John Evelyn, on his travels in Italy, reports in his Diary for May 5th, 1645: "There had been in the morning a joust and tournament of severall young gentlemen

(continued overleaf)

All such artificial revivals concentrate of necessity on reproducing the outward forms of the tourney, with their flourish and ceremonial. But the spirit which these forms once existed to clothe is both far more complex and far more elusive. To a greater extent than any other aspect of chivalric life the tournament embodies the double conflict in which the knight found himself: on the moral plane, the clash between his Christian profession and his natural impulses of self-assertion and self-display; on the social plane, the clash between the barbarian culture from which he was just emerging and the laborious polish and self-discipline he now sought to acquire. Everywhere in the tournament these opposing currents of thought are apparent, now running parallel, now diverging, now intermingled, now widely sundered, and it is this fact which accounts for the puzzling inconsistencies discernible in nearly all contemporary descriptions of the tourney, whether in literature or in life.

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footnote continued from previous page:

> on a formal defy ... the prises being distributed by the ladies after the knight-errantry way. The launcers and swordsmen running at tilt against the barriers, with a great deale of clatter, but without any bloodshed, giving much diversion to the spectators and was new to us travellers." R.C. Clephan, The Tournament, its periods and phases (London 1919), pp. 139ff. gives some interesting examples of jousts and tournaments during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

It is quite impossible for the modern person to guess with any degree of certainty how much of the tournament cult was a genuine striving to put ideals into practice, how much was half-conscious escapism, how far knightly society deliberately hid sordid realities from sight by throwing over them this veil of glamour and pretence, how far men were even aware of any incongruity between the two levels of vision that met in the tournament, and how far they tried to disentangle or reconcile them.

In exploring this territory we meet at every turn with contradiction and irrationality. But perhaps the most paradoxical aspect of all is the way in which the tournament continued to thrive and expand throughout the Middle Ages with irresistible momentum, in the face of every conceivable discouragement and opposition.

I. THE SOCIAL AND LITERARY BACKGROUND OF THE TOURNAMENT.

1.

> "Habet et diabolus tinnitus et lusores suos, quorum applausu servi eius et subditi gaudent. Unum horum genus est, torneamentis milites aut satellites dediti."[1]

The attitude of the Church was from the beginning uncompromisingly hostile.

In its most primitive form the tournament was merely a spontaneous clash of arms, unorganized, violent and ruthless; small wonder, then, that the earliest ecclesiastical prohibitions were levelled against the mortal sin of wantonly hazarding or throwing away one's own life or that of a fellow man. This remained perhaps the chief official objection of the Church, long after tournaments had become more civilized. For the enormous increase in their frequency and scale continued to make them a considerable drain on human life, in spite of all the safeguards

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1. Thomae Cantipratensis miraculorum ... libri duo (ed. G. Colvenerius, Duaci 1605), "De torneamentorum dementia", Lib. II, cap. 49, par. 3.

and regulations that were gradually introduced to lessen the risks involved. As early as 1130, in the ninth Canon of the Synod of Clermont held on November 18,[1] Pope Innocent II issued a ban on tournaments for this reason, and the prohibition was confirmed by the second Lateran Council of 1139,[2] and again renewed, in the strongest possible terms, by Alexander III at the third Lateran Council of 1179:[3]

> "Felicis memoriae papae Innocentii et Eugenii praedecessorum nostrorum vestigiis inhaerentes, detestabiles illas nundinas vel ferias, quas vulgo torneamenta vocant, in quibus milites ex condicto venire solent, et ad ostentationem virium suarum et audaciae temere congrediuntur, unde mortes hominum et animarum pericula saepe proveniunt, fieri prohibemus ..."

In the course of the 12th century a further reason presented itself to the Church with increasing urgency for the suppression of this sport that was coming to occupy a dangerously important place in the life of the average knight - the extent to which manpower, energy and material

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1. Hefele-Leclercq, Histoire des conciles, Vol. V (Paris 1912), part I, p. 688. "Les tournois sont défendus, parce qu'il sont souvent homicides."

2. Ibid., p. 729.

3. Ibid., Vol. V, part 2 (Paris 1913), pp. 1102f.

resources that ought to have been expended in the sacred cause of the Crusades were being diverted to these useless and homicidal contests at home. Thus in 1148 a decree forbidding tournaments was issued by Eugene III at the Synod of Rheims in order to recall the knights to their duty with regard to the Second Crusade.[1] Again in 1193 Celestin III ordered King Richard and the English bishops at home to ban tournaments in the hope of releasing fresh energies for the Third Crusade.[2]

A similar prohibition appears again in 1213,[3] when Innocent III, planning to launch the assembled armies of Christendom against the infidel under the Papal banner, issued a Bull at the fourth Lateran Council suspending all tournaments for three years under strictest pain of excommunication, and this Bull was renewed in almost identical terms in 1245,[4] at a time when preparations were being made for the Seventh Crusade. Even as late as 1313, long

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1. Ibid., Vol. V, part 1, p. 825.
2. Rymer, Foedera (rev. edn. of 1816), I, p. 56.
3. Hefele - Leclercq, op. cit., Vol. V, part 2, p. 1394.
4. Ibid., p. 1660.

after the genuine Crusading fervour was dead, Clement V could still issue from Avignon a Bull against the holding of tournaments:

> Cum enim in Torneamentis et justis in aliquibus partibus fieri solitis multa pericula imminent animarum et corporum, quorum destructiones plerumque contingent, nemini vertitur in dubium sanae mentis, quin illi qui Torneamenta faciunt, vel fieri procurant, impedimentum procurant Passagio faciendo, ad quos homines, equi et pecunia, et expensae fore necessaria dinoscuntur, quorum Torneamentorum factura cum gravis poenae adjectione a nostris praedecessoribus est interdicta ...[1]

It is true that the necessity of accepting facts as they were, and the danger of antagonizing the knights and provoking them to rebelliousness and disobedience by attempting to deprive them forcibly of their favourite pastime, prompted certain gestures of compromise. Thus on December 10, 1206, Innocent III wrote to the Bishop of Soissons permitting him to relax at his discretion the official penalty of excommunication, and to allow knights to purchase immunity from the ban on payment of a fine towards the cost of a future Crusade. On June 25, 1207, he wrote to the Archbishop of Tours, informing him of this experiment and suggesting that in view of its success - in their joy

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1. Quoted by Du Cange, "De l'origine et de l'usage des Tournois" (Diss. VI, Paris 1668, p. 171).

at the lifting of the ban the knights had been more than willing to pay the sum required - he might wish to introduce it in his own diocese.[1]

But in general the Church took the most serious view possible of the crase for tourneying and did not hesitate to bring to bear on the transgressor the full weight of spiritual disapproval. The penalty of excommunication is itself sufficient indication of this; and the attempt was at one time made to place under the ban of the Church not only those who actually took part, but even those who permitted the holding of tournaments on their lands, which thereby became forfeit to the Church. However, as always, this incessant threatening of extreme measures brought its own dangers with it, and tended to defeat its own purposes. Papal authority had so often had recourse to the threat of excommunication that its force as a deterrent had become somewhat blunted. Following the example of Frederick II, daring souls were openly sceptical about its validity. And even the more pious or the more timid tended to trust to the Virgin and the saints, to a death-bed repentance,

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1. Bouquet, Recueil des historiens des Gaules, Vol. XIX, (Paris 1833), pp. 492f.

or even to luck, as a means of escaping the full consequences of the ban. Only the existence of widespread indifference or carelessness can explain Winsbeke's urgent warning about the awful nature of the punishment: der klemmet in der helle alsô, / daz Jûdas nie die nôt gewan,[1] or the cynical reflections put into the mouth of the young Helmbrecht: êht und ban, daz ist ein spot.[2]

Yet there was one very simple way in which the ban could be put into effect and its consequences brought home to the offender with immediate and unmistakable finality - the withholding of burial in consecrated ground from those who met their deaths in a tournament.[3] About this punishment there was nothing vague or remote, and the knowledge that Christian burial would be refused to any individual who was unlucky enough to fall a victim to the hazards of the tourney must have made many pause. The prohibition

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1. Der Winsbeke (ed. A. Leitzmann, 2nd. rev. edn., Halle 1928), 53, 9f.

2. Meier Helmbrecht 1019.

3. Cf. The Exempla of Jacques de Vitry (ed. Crane) pp. 62f, No. CXLI: Unde propter mala et crudelitates que ibi fiunt atque homicidia et sanguinis effusiones, instituit ecclesia ut qui in torneamentis occiduntur sepultura christiana eis denegetur.

issued in 1179 by Alexander III had already stated: Quod si quis eorum ibidem mortuus fuerit quamvis ei poscenti venia non negetur, ecclesiastica tamen careat sepultura. And there is evidence to show that the Church authorities did not hesitate to adhere to this policy in the face of strong and repeated pleas from the highest secular quarters and even from certain groups within the Church itself.

For instance, on August 23, 1163, Alexander III himself wrote to the Archbishop of Rheims, who, encouraged by no less a person than Thomas Becket, had begged for permission to bury with Christian rites the body of a knight killed in a joust. The request is courteously, but firmly, refused - a precedent must not be created ne prava illa consuetudo ex hoc incrementum possit suscipere[1]. An even more dramatic incident took place in Germany. In 1175 Archbishop Wichmann of Magdeburg had issued an edict excommunicating all who took part in tournaments. In December of that year his own cousin, Konrad, the son of Margrave Dietrich of Meissen, was killed while tourneying in Austria. Although the young man's relatives implored Christian burial for him, pleading that he had died penitent after receiving Absolution, Wichmann was adamant;

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1. Bouquet, op. cit., Vol. XV (Paris 1808), p. 804.

only when Papal consent had been specially obtained, when the whole family had sworn on relics that they would not only abstain from tournaments in the future themselves, but would compel their vassals and Ministeriales to do the same, and when Dietrich had made a substantial gift of land to the Church in expiation, did he relent and allow the body to be buried after a lapse of several weeks.[1]

Following the lead thus resolutely given, moralists and preachers, all who had the public welfare at heart or who felt themselves called upon to attack the abuses of their day, joined the chorus of condemnation. No device was neglected whereby men could be frightened or cajoled away from their darling vice, and the theme of the sinfulness of tourneying was worked out with an elaboration for which the official pronouncements of the Church gave little scope. The penalties awaiting those who died excommunicate were painted in the grimmest colours, and the fate of the jouster on the Day of Judgement or the nature of his torments in hell were predicted with much detail and assurance.

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1. Incerti Auctoris Chronica Montis Sereni (ed. F.A. Eckstein, 1856), ad annum 1175; quoted by Karl Heine, Wichmann von Seeburg (Neue Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiet historisch-antiquarischer Forschungen, Halle 1898), pp. 373ff. Two further examples of similar incidents are quoted by Alwin Schultz, Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger (2nd edn., Leipzig 1889), II, p. 115.

Rutebeuf is only expressing the Papal view in popular language when he writes:-

131 Tornoieur, et vos que diroie
Qui au jor dou juïse iroie?
Devant Dieu que porroiz respondre? ...
Se il vos demande la Terre
Ou por vos vout la mort sofferre,
Que direiz vos? Je ne sai quoi.[1]

And the lesson contained in exhortations such as this could be further driven home by anecdotes and moral tales of all kinds, whose aim was to surround the tournament with an atmosphere of horror, as something sinister and accursed. Sometimes real life was obliging enough to provide a warning more striking than any exemplum. Such an event was the tournament at Neuss near Cologne in 1241, where a company of knights, ignoring the appeals of a preaching friar to desist, held a Whitsun tournament at which a large number of the participants perished either from their wounds or from suffocation in the dust of the mêlée. The disaster of Neuss was eagerly seised on and exploited to the full by chroniclers and didactic writers. Thus Philippe Mousket in his Chronique rimée[2] writes:-

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1. J. Bastin - E. Faral, Onze Poèmes de Rutebeuf (Paris 1946), No. V, 131ff.

2. Ed. de Reiffenberg (Brussels 1836).

30675 A Muse ot dont .I. tornoi pris,
Moult i eut cevaliers de pris ...
S'en i ot çà et là par leus
Mors et estins quarante .II.,
Et bien de varlais autretant.
Il i eut pourre et caure grant,
Dont recordé fu en maint lieu
Que çou fu venjance de Dieu.

The birds of prey that flocked to the scene of carnage became, by a very slight effort of the monkish imagination, transformed into fiends come to snatch away to hell the souls of the slain:-

> Super Rhenum, apud Nutium, sub Colonia fuit torneamentum post Pentecostem ubi miraculose, cum ad praedicationem cujusdam boni viri nollent torneamentum dimittere, bene inter milites et armigeros sexaginta mortui sunt et prae nimio pulveris impetu suffocati; et auditi sunt daemones et visi in similitudinem vulturum et corvorum crocitantes, qui eos terruerunt.[1]

With this idea that devils hovered over the tourney inciting the knights to sin and then pouncing with delight on any poor excommunicate soul that was forced to quit the body, we leave the world of rational argument for the strange world of monastic legend, that no-man's-land between the natural and the supernatural, where the miraculous became

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1. E Chronico Alberici Monachi Trium Fontanum (Bouquet, op. cit., Vol. XXI, 1855, p. 629), ad annum 1241. Thomas Cantipratensis, loc. cit., par. 4, magnifies the incident to frankly legendary dimensions; a certain knight who mocks the efforts of the friar at intervention is the first to fall; the number of casualties is swollen to three hundred and sixty seven; and that night assemblies of devils were seen by divers persons rejoicing over their booty of souls.

normal and where monstrous or dazzling shapes, incarnate forces of good or evil, agents of retribution or reward, moved to and fro in mysterious and yet childishly simple patterns of cause and effect.

Nor was the idea confined to the written or spoken word. In a manuscript of the Breviaire d'amors of Matfre Ermengaut there is a miniature depicting a tournament where two flying devils are converging on one knight, while a third rides pillion behind another.[1] But the possibilities of pictorial representation were comparatively restricted, and the medium of narrative clearly offered greater scope for forcefulness and variety. Thomas Cantipratensis relates two hair-raising anecdotes in this strain.[2] One concerns a German knight who was an ardent devotee of the tournament and who met his death while engaged in his favourite sport. One night his wife, to her great distress, had a vision of his guilt-laden soul, surrounded by swarms of demons, tortured with armour all covered with spikes which pierced him through and through, and (because it had been his wont, after a joust, to indulge in carnal pleasures) plunged in a bath of flames, stretched on a bed of

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1. British Museum MS. Royal 19.C.1., fol. 204v. (the miniature is reproduced in the Appendix).

2. Thomas Cantipratensis, loc. cit., pars. 5 and 6.

red-hot iron and clasped in the embrace of a huge and hideous toad. The second tale concerns a knight who was accidentally killed by a lance-thrust in a tourney at Leeuwes near Brussels, in which he and a band of equally foolish companions had taken part unarmed save for their helmets and shields. His body was abandoned to the crows and hawks, and his ghost, mounted on a black horse and with the point of the lance still sticking in its heart, was shortly afterwards seen by a serf; the dead man bade the serf draw out the lance-head and show it to his former friends as a visible token of Divine judgement on the sinner, with a special message of warning to the man who had been responsible for his death.

Caesarius of Heisterbach takes up the same theme in Book 12 of his Dialogus Miraculorum.[1] In Chapter 15 the Novice asks a question about the fate of those who die in battle or in tournaments. The Monk replies that those who fall in a just cause, for example, in the defence of their country, have incurred no guilt; but that there is rejoicing in hell when the innocent are attacked. And, quoting as his source a certain monk Wiger of Villers, he tells how once, after there had been a great slaughter of

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1. Ed. Joseph Strange (Cologne 1851), Lib. XII, caps. xv, xvi, xvii.

knights, a man passing near the spot saw maximum tornamentum daemoniorum exulting over their spoils. Although this tale is not specifically directed against tourneying, but rather against unjust and causeless warfare, he goes on at once to say: De his vero qui in Torneamentis cadunt, nulla quaestio est, quin vadant ad inferos, si non fuerint adjuti beneficio contritionis. This view he illustrates in Chapter 17 by a further anecdote, allegedly from the same source; it tells how a Spanish priest going one evening past the camp of the Count of Loos vidit in campo vicino maximum tornamentum mortuorum, valde clamantium domine Walter de Milene, domine Walter de Milene. Erat idem Walterus in militia nominatus, nuperque defunctus. Intelligens sacerdos illos esse qui militum nundinas execrabiles repraesentabant, subsistens, circulum circa se fecit ... and the vision was continued thus through the night.

Such stories are a particularly striking instance of the extent to which, in this atmosphere of the supernatural, the barrier between Christian and pagan notions tends to melt away. For these companies of ghosts and fiends, circling and calling through the air in a spectral

tournament, are clearly none other than the Wild Hunt[1] - not that most primitive form of the Hunt which is a mere aimless rush of wind and storm, but the more rationalized, though not necessarily Christian, conception of it as the punishment of guilty souls who can find no rest in the grave.

The semi-heathen belief that the spirits of knights who had lost their lives in pursuit of some sinful pleasure returned to earth to re-enact their offence till the end of time as the penalty of their sin and as a fearful warning to their fellows, was one that seems to have taken shape very early. Thus in 1123[2] we find an account of a vision seen in pago Wormaciensi of a ghostly band of armed knights who emerged from a hill and were seen riding to and fro forming groups nunc hic nunc illic until at the hour of nine they disappeared into the hill again. A man from that region approached them in great fear, making the sign of the cross, and conjured one of their number to explain who they were: Cui ille inter caetera: non sumus, inquit,

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1. P. Schmidt, Der Teufels- und Daemonenglaube in den Erzählungen des Caesarius von Heisterbach (Basel 1926), p. 120, suggests that the "daemons" are in fact the souls of the dead, rather than actual devils.

2. Ekkehardi Chronicon Uraugiensis (MGH.SS. VI, p. 261) ad annum 1123. A similar incident is related by Ordericus Vitalis, Hist. eccl. libri tredecim (ed. Le Prévost, Paris 1838-55), III, pp. 371f. (quoted by F. Lot, "La mesnie Hellequin" (Romania XXXII, 1903), p. 437, note 1).

ut putatis, fantasmata, nec militum ut a vobis cernimur turba, sed animae militum non longe antehac interfectorum. Arma vero et habitus et equi quia nobis prius fuerant instrumenta peccandi, nunc nobis sunt materia tormenti, et vere totum ignitum est quod in nobis cernitis, quamvis id vos corporalibus oculis discernere non possitis. One of the knights could be identified as a man who had been killed a few years before: in huiusmodi comitatu dicitur etiam Emicho comes, ante paucos annos occisus, apparuisse et ab hac poena orationibus et elemosinis se posse redimi docuisse. Although there is in this account no explicit mention of tournaments, the allusion to the armour and horses which had been the instruments of their downfall seems at least a probable reference to the desire for booty - the turnieren umbe guot - which was always one of the principal motives for the popularity of the tourney. It is interesting that the chronicler, in his endeavour to suggest the intensity of their sufferings, has combined both the heathen and the Christian idea of eternal torment; the knights, though they remain on earth in bodily shape as phantoms are in fact at the same time being consumed by the fires of Hell.

Another story of a named individual who returns from the dead to declare how his sinful love of the tournament

is being punished, and to implore, like Count Emicho, the prayers and charitable works of the living on his behalf, is told by Matthew Paris in his Chronica Majora for the year 1227.[1] A certain knight Raoul de Thony, who, hurrying back to the death-bed of his dearly-loved brother Roger, found him already dead, conjured him in God's name to return and give some account of his fate; the dead man sat up and told how he had seen the torments of the damned and the joys of the blessed, necnon supplicia magna, quibus miser ego deputatus sum, breaking out into the lamentable cry Vae, vae mihi, quare unquam Torneamenta exercui et ea tanto studio dilexi? His brother, horror-struck, promises to have Masses said and alms bestowed on the poor as the only means whereby his sufferings can be mitigated.

Exactly what lies behind these tales it is impossible to guess: whether they sprang from the uneasy conscience of the knights themselves, torn between their passion for

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1. Chronica Majora (Rolls Edn.) Vol. III, pp. 143f. Later in the same work (Vol. V, p. 298, ad annum 1252) Matthew Paris mentions Raoul de Thony again, this time in connexion with a third brother Richard. It is interesting to note (though doubtless only a coincidence) that the de Thonys, like the Craons and the Beaumonts, belonged to the highest Angevin nobility; that both Richard de Thony and Maurice II de Craon, the hero of our poem, held high office in the province, Matthew Paris speaking of Richard as thesaurarius Andegavensis, while Maurice is mentioned by Radulfus de Diceto (I, 380) as governor of Anjou and Maine in 1174; and that the brothers de Thony were blood-relatives of the king of Scotland, while Ermengard de Beaumont, sister of Richard de Beaumont who is the "husband"

tourneying and their fear of thereby forfeiting Heaven; whether they are the genuine products of pious credulity; or whether they were deliberately put into circulation by the Church in order to work on the emotions of the knights and terrify them into amending their life. But they, like the categorical '<u>thou shalt not</u>' of the Papacy, could only be effective as long as the knights were willing to be treated like children in the nursery. As they became intellectually more sophisticated it was no longer possible to frighten them with tales of bogies; as they became more independent and less submissive to authoritarian pronouncements from any source, it was no longer sufficient merely to declare a thing sinful and forbidden in order to have it suppressed. This had always been so up to a certain point, but as the thirteenth century progressed the secular nobility was rapidly growing away from the tutelage of the Church and refused to be dragooned into obedience. It became increasingly necessary to reason with them and persuade them of the truth by argument. The sins that were either inherent in the tournament, or at least tended to accompany it, had to be demonstrated in

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footnote continued from previous page:

in the poem, married the King of Scotland in 1186.

detail: sins of commission, such as gambling, drunkenness, idleness, lechery, vainglory, ill-will; sins of omission, such as indifference towards the Holy Wars of the Crusades, or the neglect of those Christian duties with which a gentleman's time should properly be filled. One gets the impression that the very conception of sin is shifting from the theological to the moral and rational. There is frequently nothing transcendental about the exhortations of the preachers, whose sermons were the principle vehicle for this new and more adult approach. For the preachers formed a bridge between the authority of the Church and the secular public, speaking often as man to man in direct contact with those whom they were seeking to convince.[1]

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1. A particularly good example of this "reasonable" approach is quoted in translation from the sermons of Humbert de Romans, fifth Master of the Dominican Order, by A.R.Lecoy de la Marche, La Chaire française au moyen âge (2nd. edn., Paris 1886), pp.394-5. 'Il y a dans les tournois des choses tout à fait condamnables, d'autres qu'on peut tolérer, d'autres qu'on doit approuver. Parmi les premières, il faut compter les prodigalités insensées faites à ce propos par les nobles ... Quelqu'uns d'entre eux, que pis est, profitent de l'occasion pour assouvir des haines privées ... (ou) s'exposent aux séductions des folles femmes qui se réunissent là. Les chevaliers doivent seulement prendre part aux luttes modérées, dans l'intention unique de s'exercer à la guerre ...', and so forth, in the same strain.

Thus Jacques de Vitry, in an anecdote from one of his sermons, tells how he once talked with a knight who was a great frequenter of tourneys, refusing to believe that they could be sinful, and how he showed him at some length and with irrefutable reasoning that the tournament in fact involved the committing of all Seven Deadly Sins at once. He concludes: cum autem dictus miles hec verba audiret et aperte veritatem quam nunquam audierat agnoscceret, sicut prius torneamenta dilexit ita postea semper odio habere cepit.[1]

This catalogue of the Seven Deadly Sins of tourneying seems to have caught the fancy of the time. It was apparently taken over into William of Wadington's Manuel des Pechiez, and this in its turn served as a basis for Robert Mannyng of Brunne's Handlyng Synne,[2] where it is stated:-

4574 Of tournamentys þat are forbede
Yn holy cherchë, as men rede,
Of tournamentys y preue þerynne
Seuene poyntës of dedly synne.

Pride heads the list:-

4579 Auauntëment, bobaunce and bost
Of ryche atyre ys here auaunce,
Prykyng here hors with olypraunce ...

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1. Loc. cit., p. 62, No. CXLI.

2. Ed. F.J. Furnivall (for the Roxburghe Club), London 1862.

Then follow Envy, Anger, Sloth, Avarice, Gluttony - for the knights eat

4603 Delycyus metes to make hem strong,
And drynke þe wyne þat he were lyght ...

and finally "dame lecherye":-

4607 Of here cumþ allé here maistrye.
Many tymes for wymmen sake,
Knyghteys tournamentys make ...
So ys he bete þere for here loue,
Þat he ne may sytte hys hors aboue,
Þat perauenture yn alle hys lyve,
Shal he neuer aftyr þryve ...

This is frankly an appeal to common sense and enlightened self-interest, reducible, like so much of later medieval moralising, to the simple principle:- sin does not pay, not even in this life. The "seuene poyntes of dedly sin" retain their traditional labels, but much of the sting seems to have gone out of them. Apart from a single mention of God and the Mass, the tone is curiously secular, and were it not for the fact that Mannyng is known to have been a member - though perhaps only a lay brother - of the Gilbertine community at Sempringham, one might well be pardoned for supposing the passage to be the work of a man of the world.

As the Middle Ages advance, the voice of the layman moralist does in fact make itself increasingly heard alongside that of the preacher. He does not anathematise from the heights of spiritual authority, he does not play on

superstitious terrors, nor even argue from a pulpit; he attacks, as it were, on the level - and he attacks something that is becoming not so much a sin as a supreme folly. In works of this type the dangers of tourneying are described in a realistic manner, apparently based on personal experience and observation, and therefore touched with variety and individuality; condemnation - or, as frequently happens, mere disapproval - is coloured by indignation, impatience, puzzlement, ridicule, or some other subjective emotion according to the temperament of the writer. Even outside the Church, thinking men have lost sympathy with that way of life of which the tournament is the perfect expression.

Nor is this to be wondered at. Through the late thirteenth and the whole of the fourteenth centuries the gulf between the rising middle-class outlook and the mentality of the chevalier tournoyeur steadily widens. True, the tournament was often cultivated in bourgeois circles, especially by members of the patrician class, and in the German cities the Stadtjunker strove as eagerly to acquire the privilege of "Turnierfähigkeit" as the nobles for their part strove to retain it in their own hands by extending it

only under conditions of increasing difficulty. There is, for instance, the case of the great tournament held at Whitsun in the year 1281 by the Stadtjunker of Magdeburg,[1] to which patrician families from the neighbouring cities were invited with much ceremony. This tournament was organized with all kinds of allegorical trappings based on the Grail legend, and the prize was a beautiful courtesan named "vrow Feie" (Sophia); but the incongruity between this setting of high romance and the homely and respectable reality could hardly be better symbolised than by the fact that the victor of the day was a worthy old merchant from Goslar who, instead of enjoying his 'prize', arranged an honest marriage for her with a dowry from his own purse. And these bourgeois tourneys were on the whole inspired less by the love of jousting for its own sake than by the ambition of social climbers, anxious to gain a foothold in that territory which had hitherto been the exclusive preserve of their superiors.

True, again, there were men of the citizen class who still looked up to the chivalric way of life with reverence

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1. Alwin Schultz, op. cit., II, pp. 117f.

and who cherished a vision of the tournaments of the past as the quintessence of valour, courtesy and splendour. Konrad von Würzburg is perhaps the outstanding example of this attitude, revelling as he does in tournament descriptions of a positively baroque exuberance. In a more sober fashion, Werner der Gärtner makes even his old peasant lament that

> die alten turnei sint verslagen
> und sint die niuwen für getragen.[1]

Many other non-knightly writers indulge in the same kind of nostalgic retrospect, echoing the words of Reinmar von Zweter:-

> Turnieren was ê ritterlîch,
> nu ist es rinderlich, toblich, tôtreis und mordes rîch,
> mortmeszer und mortkolbe, gesliffen aks gar ûf des
> mannes tôt.
> Sus ist der turnei nu gestalt,
> des werdent schoenen frouwen ir ougen rôt, ir herzen
> kalt.[2]

But for the most part middle-class opinion was firmly on the side of the opposition, a circumstance that is hardly surprising, for the tournament offended bourgeois morality in every particular. It scandalised bourgeois

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1. Meier Helmbrecht, 1023f.

2. Reinmar von Zweter (ed. G. Roethe, Leipzig 1887), p. 464, No. 106.

thriftiness by its deliberate extravagance; it violated the bourgeois instinct for self-preservation and the bourgeois sense of the sanctity of human life by its heedless brutality and bloodshed; it shocked bourgeois respectability by the license and dissipation that usually accompanied it; it disconcerted bourgeois sobriety by its unabashed parade and swagger; it outraged bourgeois godliness by its flouting of every Christian precept; and above all it affronted bourgeois common sense by its complete and triumphant irrationality.

This common sense viewpoint finds its fullest expression in the Renner of Hugo von Trimberg.[1] Writing as an exact contemporary of Robert Mannyng, as the fourteenth century opens, he is nevertheless much more free and personal in his style of approach. He is exasperated by the perversity of men - so half-hearted in their response to those

6564 die got manic jâr
hânt gedienet und gerne si lêrten
dâ mit si ir heil gemêrten,

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1. Ed. G. Ehrismann (Bibl.d.Lit.Ver in Stuttgart, CCXLVII, CCXLVIII, CCLII, CCLVI, Tübingen, 1908-11).

and so eager to flock together when a single squire bids them to a tourney

6562 des weder lîp noch sêle hât frumen.

In the section "Von stechen" (11567ff.) the harangue continues: "God must laugh when He sees these two manikins bent on poking at each other with long spears ... What folly to risk one's life in the pursuit of honour:-

Waz prîses wil der dâ bejagen,
ob man in muoz von dannen tragen?

Better be a coward, if to be a brave man is to get oneself killed:-

Der helde wirt vil mêr erslagen.

Why, not even as penance for his sins would a man submit to being struck with clubs and swords as though he were a piece of iron on an anvil; but the idea of penance is very far from the jouster's mind as he sits on his fine horse, very well pleased with himself and hoping for general admiration ... " This is not the voice of Church authority, it is the half-irritated, half-ironical voice of the schoolmaster whose pupils insist on preferring what is bad for them:-

Wanne ez hânt manige tumme leien
von justieren und von turneien
verlorn lîp, sêle unde guot ...

The author of Das Teufels Netz[1] even carries the argument one stage further into the realm of allegory, as he points to the heavenly tournaments which God has in store for good and penitent men; a kind of knightly Schlaraffenland where ransoms and pledges are unknown, where food is free for all and everyone is an Emperor:-

das ist der selben turnierer lôn.

Lôn, frouwen - the words run like a refrain through the moral writings of this period. And where virtue is regarded as a commercial proposition, the tournament has indeed little chance of survival.

2.

"This manner of exercise, being then used, not at the tilt (as I think), but at Random and in the open fields, was accompted so daungerous to the persons having to do therein that ... the kings of this realm (before King Stephen) would not suffer it to be frequented within their land. But afterwards King Stephen in his time permitted it; and then after him King Richard I not only allowed it, but also encouraged his nobilitie to use it; and so by little and little ... it growe to a most pleasant, usuall and familiar pastime." [2]

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1. Ed. K.A.Barack (Bibl.d.Lit.Ver. in Stuttgart, LXX, Stuttgart 1865), 7820ff.

2. W. Lambarde, Perambulation of Kent, edn. of 1596, p. 448.

The tournament was not merely opposed in the name of religion and morals. It presented the secular authorities also with a practical problem in face of which some sort of official policy had to be adopted. Kings could not remain indifferent to an occupation that had become a species of obsession with those on whom their power chiefly depended, and it was plainly to their interest to prevent matters from getting out of hand. The knights for their part bitterly resented interference from above, and flouted all restrictions to the limits of impunity, so that the tournament issue became a factor, and by no means an unimportant one, in the perpetual struggle between the sovereign and his vassals.

State opposition to the tourney was naturally based on motives very different from those that inspired the attitude of the Church, and, being dictated by expediency rather than by any moral principle, was much less consistent and clearly-defined in its operation. In general it may be said that the aim was not to suppress tournaments altogether, but instead to ensure that the convening and organising of them remained a royal prerogative, kept within

strict bounds and exercised or withheld as the king should think fit. After all, they provided valuable training in the arts of war, and afforded an excellent opportunity for discovering fresh knightly talent that could be recruited in the royal service; they could be turned to account as a source of revenue if taxes before the event, or fines after it, were levied on all who took part in them; while, in the last resort, permission to tourney could be used as a kind of good-conduct prize reserved for those in the royal favour. But on the other hand there was ample reason for a policy of restraint. The tourney, with its steady flow of men killed and disabled, involved a wastage of useful, and in some cases indispensably precious, lives, not to speak of the equally catastrophic wastage of horses, armour and other equipment which should have been reserved for some more important cause. The expensive nature of the pursuit dissipated the knights' substance and incapacitated them for their proper military service. It disturbed the peace and laid waste the countryside, disorganising the normal agricultural and economic life of the people.[1]

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1. Up till about the middle of the thirteenth century tournaments were not fought out within an enclosed arena but over open country; as the summer was the traditional season for tourneying, much damage to crops and pasture-land must have resulted. While the emergency provisioning and equipping of these large gatherings of knights with their retainers unsettled the normal supply and demand of markets. Cf. Jacques de Vitry, loc.cit:- ... nec segetes in agris conculcare et dissipare formidant et pauperes agricolas valde dampnificant et molestant, and Thomas Cantipratensis, loc.cit., par.3: exheredantur divites rustici, cives urbium devastantur, expoliantur pauperes et vix eis reliquitur frustrum panis.

It directed the energies and ambitions of the knights into futile, if not positively harmful, channels, and by encouraging arrogance, bickering and bad blood among them, weakened their readiness for national or communal enterprise. It distracted them from their public responsibilities by shifting the emphasis on to private adventuring. And, most serious of all, it challenged the supremacy of the sovereign by creating and fostering a whole world of activity which constantly threatened to slip from his control - unauthorized assemblies of vassals, where conspiracy might flourish and discontent find a voice, unauthorized passages of arms that might easily develop into private warfare, and a general mood of self-will and insubordination.

In different countries the problem took different forms, and the counter-measures adopted varied accordingly; but the same general line of policy prevails everywhere.

In England,[1] where up to the time of Edward I the tournament was almost entirely organized by the barons independent of the court, and was thus permanently in danger of becoming "a focus for baronial discontent",[2] the strength

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1. The position in England has been treated in detail by N. Denholm-Young, "The Tournament in the Thirteenth Century" (Studies in Mediaeval History presented to F. M. Powicke, Oxford 1948, pp.240-268).

2. Ibid., p. 241.

or weakness of each successive monarch is in a sense typified by his attitude in this particular matter. Stephen is reproached by the chroniclers for his lack of firmness,[1] but Henry II appears to have been largely successful in suppressing the tournament on English soil, so that those knights (including his own sons) who were eager for exploits and glory had to satisfy their ambitions on the other side of the Channel.[2] Richard I, on the other hand, defying an express command of the Pope, relaxed the prohibition and licensed the holding of tournaments in certain appointed places on payment of a fee graded according to the rank of the persons concerned.[3] This was done partly in order to raise funds for the Crusades or for the national exchequer, partly to increase the fighting efficiency of the barons and to make them a match for the French knights, who were

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1. William of Newburgh, Historia Rerum Anglicarum (Rolls Edn., Vol. II, p. 422), Book V, chap. 4: cum per eius indecentem mollitiem nullus esset publicae vigor disciplinae.

2. Ibid: Porro temporibus regum priorum, Henrici quoque secundi qui Stephano successit, tironum exercitiis in Anglia prorsus inhibitis qui forte armorum affectantes gloriam exerceri volebant, transfretantes in terrarum exercebantur confiniis. This is confirmed from other historical sources and by the Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, 1540ff.: Mais ki volt mettre peine et cure / En esrer ne en tornier,/ Si le soleit l'om envoier / En Brutaingne ou en Normandie,/ Pour hanter la chevalerie,/ O par tut la ou l'om turneie.

3. Roger de Hoveden, Chronica III, p. 268, ad annum 1194.

apt to scoff at the English tanquam rudibus et minus gnaris[1] but surely also because Richard was by temperament disposed to a sympathetic view of chivalric enterprise.[2] His successor, caring for none of these things, seems to have taken no action in the matter one way or another, in spite of the fact that the tournament must have provided a peculiarly dangerous rallying-point for the hostile barons during his reign. Henry III was apparently more aware of the danger, but, whether he was afraid to challenge the power of the barons openly or for some other reason, he contented himself with half-hearted attempts to forbid each tournament in turn as the occasion arose; his edicts seem to have been consistently disregarded, and in the majority of cases there is no record of any action having been taken against the offenders. Indeed, the very frequency of these edicts (Denholm-Young puts the number between 1216 and 1274 at about a hundred)[3] is a sign that the passion for tourneying had reached a point where control was no

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1. William of Newburgh, Loc.cit.

2. Though the historical records of Richard's own day contain no description of his prowess in the tourney, it is interesting that Konrad von Würzburg, when composing his Turnierroman "Der Turnei von Nantheis" (ed. K. Bartsch, Vienna 1871), chose for the rôle of all-conquering hero Richart von Engellanden.

3. Op.cit., pp. 245f.

longer possible. With Edward I and the revival of the Arthurian cult at court, the tournament was taken up under royal protection; it was by then considerably less turbulent and warlike than it had been at the beginning, but the potential menace to the Crown was still there, and the king was careful to prohibit tourneying under pain of severe penalties when he was out of the country or engaged in war.[1] Not until it had become a social entertainment for the aristocracy rather than the private recreation of gentlemen-at-arms did the tournament also become harmless to the State.

In Germany, the early history of the tournament can only be reconstructed by guesswork. Contemporary allusions are comparatively rare and inclined to be somewhat vague, while later accounts, though leaving nothing to be desired in their wealth of precise detail, are patently apocryphal in character.

At the time of the Second Crusade the Germans were still lagging behind the French, who are reported to have taunted the Emperor Conrad's followers with the mysterious phrase πουτζη Ἀλαμανέ (pousse Allemand?),[2] as they were later to jeer at the barons of England in the days of

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1. Denholm-Young, op.cit., pp. 263, 267.

2. Joh. Cinnamus, Hist.Lib. II, 18, quoted by Alwin Schultz, op.cit., II, p. 107.

Richard I. There is no doubt that from the second half of the twelfth century onwards French influence was steadily gaining ground in tournament fashions as in the other departments of chivalric life, though the evidence is not sufficient to trace out the exact manner and extent of the transformation. Nevertheless, it seems to have been the case that certain features, having their roots in pre-chivalric times, persisted throughout the Middle Ages in the German tournament and gave to it a distinct national character of its own.

One of these was the linking of the tournament with genuine military operations of some kind, a custom reminiscent of the warrior games which, in barbarian societies, frequently precede a battle, or follow it as a celebration of victory. These contests could apparently be of a more or less spontaneous and improvized nature, such as the tournament at Würzburg in 1127,[1] the earliest of which historical record has been preserved, or they could be organized with great ceremony and magnificence, like the famous tournament given by Henry the Illustrious,

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1. Ottonis Frisingensis Gesta Friderici Imperatoris (MGH.SS.XX, p. 360, 36): tyrocinium, quod vulgo nunc turneimentum dicitur.

Margrave of Meissen, at Nordhausen in 1263, to celebrate the successful conclusion of a seven years' campaign against a rival prince.[1] The account of the first introduction of the tournament into Germany given by Georg Rüxner in his "Turnierbuch", though in no sense historical, bears out this aspect of the matter. Rüxner relates how Henry the Fowler after a great victory over the Huns (i.e. the Magyars) in 936 rewarded his followers with splendid festivities at Magdeburg :-

> Das alles aber den Keyszer jrem verdienst nach / bedaucht zů wenig sein / vnnd vermeynet seinen werden gesten / noch mer khurtzweil zů machen / damitt er sie lenger bei jm behilt ... vnnd gedacht eine Thurnir vnd frembd ritterspiel vffzůrichten / da er selbst mit einreitten vnnd Thurnieren wolt / dieweil dem Adel in hoch Theutschen landen vnd im Reich solchs noch unbekant wer ... / alszdann Thurnierten vnd Triumphirten sie zů offenbarung des sigs der uberwindung jrer feind / lebten sie in freuden ...[2]

The second was the cultivation of a peaceful and entirely decorative form of the tournament, which was not so much a mock contest of arms as a kind of military review, usually reserved for State occasions of a solemn or festive

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1. See under "Heinrich der Erlauchte, Markgraf von Meissen" in the Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie.

2. Georg Rüxner, Anfang: ursprung: und herkommen des Thurnirs in Teutscher Nation (Simmern 1530), fol.xii r. (fol.VII^{v}-VIII^{r} in the Frankfurt edn. of 1666).

character and presided over by the Emperor or some other personage of princely status. Displays of horsemanship, in which intricate and graceful evolutions were performed by riders singly or in teams, are said to have been a favourite diversion at the court of Charlemagne,[1] and it was a similar spectacle that was arranged, more than three and a half centuries later, by Frederick Barbarossa at the great Pfingstfest at Mainz in 1184. Contemporary accounts[2] make it clear that this so-called "gyrum" was not mimic warfare but rather a species of primitive Tattoo in which the individual nobles (among them the Emperor in person) vied with each other in parading before the assembled multitude their martial finery of arms, shields and banners and their prowess in the saddle. The Emperor kept a strict eye on the proceedings, which had of course been arranged to the greater honour and glory of the imperial house, and it is significant that a genuine tournament, which had been planned - possibly by the visiting nobles from France and elsewhere - to take place two miles away, was cancelled by official decree.

The third special characteristic of the German tournament

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1. Nithart, Hist.Lib.I, 3, quoted in extenso by F. Niedner, Das deutsche Turnier im XII. und XIII. Jahrhundert (Berlin 1881), pp. 7f.
2. Gisleberti Chronicon Hanoniense (MGH.SS.XXI) p. 539, 5ff.

is this very way in which the Emperor and, following his example, the territorial princes and leading nobles, tried to keep it under their personal control as a means of enhancing their own prestige, whether they took an active part in the actual tourneying or contented themselves with convening the participants, supervising the arrangements and providing costly prises and entertainment. How far they were, or indeed could be, successful in thus harnessing the tournament to their own interests it is impossible to tell, but history, legend and literature all combine to suggest that such was in fact their endeavour. From the Würzburg tournament of 1127, held in honour of Duke Frederick of Swabia, or the Nordhausen tournament given by the Margrave of Meissen, up to the gorgeous shows presided over by the Emperor Maximilian at Nürnberg and elsewhere, the historical records indicate the extent to which these gatherings were organized under official court patronage. This fact is further confirmed by Rüxner, not only in his tale of the first tournament under Henry the Fowler, but all through the Turnierbuch, where one legendary tourney after another is described as having taken place under the auspices of this or that princely patron, if not actually Keyserlicher Maiestat zů eren; the accounts are pure fabrication, but perhaps for this very reason not without significance, since

they show clearly in which direction the weight of tradition lay. Even Ulrich von Lichtenstein, though it is quite impossible to disentangle truth from fiction in his autobiography, shows on more than one occasion the way in which the holding or cancelling of tournaments depended on the will of the princes. His account of the circumstances which led up to the tournament at Friesach in 1224[1] may not give at all a true picture of the facts, but at least it is plain that a leading part in the affair was played by Duke Leopold of Austria; and later, towards the end of "Frauendienst", when Ulrich in his rôle of King Arthur holds a tournament near Vienna in 1240, it is Duke Frederick of Austria who takes over command entirely, first fixing a day for the tourney and entering the lists in person, and then in a moment of pique or displeasure ordering the whole proceedings to be stopped. The knights obey at once, though not without resentment:-

501,20 "Uns hât mîn herre ûz Oesterrîch
enboten bî den triuwen mîn,
daz wir hie turnîren lâzen sîn:
daz ist uns hertzenlîchen leit.
juncherre, daz sî iu geseit:
wir müezen im sîn undertân,
durch in beidiu tuon und lân".

By thus keeping the tournament as far as possible in

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1. Frd. 62,13 - 96,16.

their own hands, the Emperor and the princes were able to render it harmless. They satisfied on the most lavish scale the twin cravings of the German knights for military sport and for colourful spectacle; and the knights for their part, forgetting political considerations, willingly accepted from the hands of their overlords entertainments of a type which it was quite beyond their power to provide for themselves.

Control from above, combined with a native passion for efficient planning led in the fourteenth century to the founding of the four great Turniergesellschaften - Bavarian, Swabian, Franconian and Rhenish - in which the office of oberster Turniervogt was held by the territorial prince of each region, while under him a hierarchy of functionaries superintended such matters as the convening of tournaments, the construction of the lists, questions of escort and accommodation, and other administrative details.[1] Even in the earlier period, the German tournament seems to have been surrounded by an atmosphere of peculiar stiffness and formality. There was a positive delight in all the minutiae of organization, from the ritual of invitation, the inspection of arms, the screening of participants to ensure that they

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1. J. Scherr, Deutsche Kultur und Sittengeschichte (Stuttgart 1949), pp. 155f.

had the requisite number of generations of nobility behind them or had not otherwise forfeited their Turnierfähigkeit, the ceremonial parade of the knights and the counter-parade of the ladies, the selection of the teams for the mass tourney and the arranging of the order of combats for the joust, up to the votes of thanks and speeches which concluded the proceedings. Numerous officials, heralds, umpires, Turnierrögte, and others hovered to and fro enforcing the regulations, while in the background secretaries noted everything down in minutes. It is all very solemn and business-like and a little pedestrian - quite different from the later tournaments in France where all the elaborate codes of rules and the excess of ceremony never quite succeeded in banishing the element of grace and fantasy. The influence of the romances of chivalry, which in France introduced a note of genuine, if highly artificial, poetry, and which led, especially in England, to the fashion for holding "Round Tables" (whatever the exact meaning of the term may have been),[1] in Germany never seems to have risen above the laborious make-believe of Ulrich and his companions in arms. And the fantastic "conceits" which served as a

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1. For this question, see the articles by R.H. Cline, "Influence of the Romances on the Tournaments of the Middle Ages", (Speculum XX, 1945, pp. 204ff.) and E. Sandoz, "Tourneys in the Arthurian Tradition" (Speculum XIX, 1944, pp. 389ff.)

background for so many of the later French tournaments - the "Emprise de la Joyeuse Garde", the "Pas de la Fontaine de Pleurs" and so on[1] - have for their German counterpart (though earlier in point of time) the grotesque and slightly vulgar spectacle of a knight dressed in a woman's gown and imitation blonde plaits, mincing about in churches with the pax to the accompaniment of equivocal jests, in the improbable rôle of Lady Venus. However conscientiously the German knights might copy foreign models in their outward forms, however zealously they strove after elegance and decorum, the underlying spirit in the main still eluded their grasp. The chivalric tournament in Germany remained an uneasy and self-conscious guest, welcomed eagerly and even fêted, but never fully at home.

In France, on the other hand, the tournament had been at home from the beginning. It was a knight of Anjou, Geoffrey de Preuilly, who was credited with having "invented" it,[2] and the mastery of the French in everything pertaining

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1. Marc Vulson de la Colombière, Le vray théâtre d'honneur et de chevalerie (Paris 1648), Vol. I, pp. 81ff., 269f.

2. Chronicon S. Martini Turonensis (Bouquet, op.cit., Vol. XII, 1781, pp. 461f.): Anno Henrici imperatoris 7 et Philippi regis 3 fuit proditio apud Andegavum ubi Gaufridus de Pruliaco et alii barones occisi sunt. Hic Gaufridus de Pruliaco torneamenta invenit.

to the science of the tourney was never challenged.[1] It was, as we have seen, the French knights who from the heights of their superior expertise jeered at the less practised chivalry of England and Germany. It was to France that young English nobles, including princes of the blood, went for training and experience in the reign of Henry II,[2] and to France that the Bohemian knight Johann von Michelsberg went to try his skill in the closing years of the thirteenth century.[3]

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1. Ralph of Coggeshall in his Chronicon Anglicanum (Rolls edn., p. 179) tells how Geoffrey de Mandeville died in 1216 of wounds received in a joust dum more Francorum eques cum hastis vel contis sese curaim equitantes impeterent. In the same way the tournament was sometimes known in England simply as conflictus Gallicus (see below). Many writers of chivalric romance take up the same theme, e.g. Chrétien de Troyes, Cligès 5066ff., where the hero goes in quest of "chevalerie" throughout Brittany, Normandy and France, or Gui de Warewic (ed. A. Ewert, Class.fr.d.m.a., Paris 1932), 7311ff.: A la mer s'en est alé / Plus tost qu'il pot si est passé; / Venuz est en Normandie, / Dasors guerre chevalerie, or Sone de Nansay 5624ff.: S'irai en Franche tournier. / Ch'est drois en ma nouvieleté, / Ensi l'a on en Franche usé, or Rittertreue (GA. No.VI), 570f.: Alrêrst huob sich der turnei, / Als man in Vrancrîche pfligt.

2. Matthew Paris, Chron.Maj., II, p. 309: Henricus rex Anglorum junior, mare transiens, in conflictibus Gallicis et profusicribus expensis triennium peregit ... sui nominis famam circumquaque respersit.

3. Heinrich von Freiberg, Ritterfahrt des Johann von Michelsperg, ed. Bernt, pp. 239ff.

Proficiency in the tournament was in France the mark of an accomplished gentleman, and this proficiency was cultivated diligently, either in large-scale contests of a public nature or in more modest private enterprises. The tournament was sport and excitement, a blend of the ferocious and the debonair, an opportunity for rival displays of the basic knightly virtues of valour and largesse, a stepping-stone to fame or the patronage of some great lord, and for the quasi-professional chevaliers tournoyeurs, mostly lackland younger sons, free-lances in the literal sense of the word, who went from one tourney to another in pursuit of prizes and booty, a veritable means of livelihood. It was, in a word, inseparably bound up with the idea of chivalry. But as long as it remained so, it was less likely to be used for political ends and was in consequence less of a menace to the State. Indeed, one may suppose that the pre-eminence of the French knights in the tournament was rather a source of gratification to their rulers than the reverse. It must also be remembered that, at the period when chivalry was at its height, the hold of the French kings over the various provinces that made up the realm was of a very loose kind, and that in such a matter edicts from the official seat of government in France would have been of little effect. Not until late in the thirteenth

century, in fact, did the kings of France attempt to impose restrictions on the tournament and to bring it under their personal control.

It is true that in 1209[1] Philip Augustus forbade his sons on oath to take part in tournaments; however, this was not because he objected to them on principle, but because he did not wish the heirs to the throne to be exposed to needless hazards of life and limb. It is also true that in 1260 St Louis banned tournaments for two years as a sign of mourning for the infidel conquests in the Holy Land and elsewhere,[2] but this decree was clearly inspired by motives of piety rather than statecraft. It was not till 1280 that Philip the Rash forbade tournaments on the grounds that they interfered with the waging of national wars.[3] In 1304, 1305 and 1311 Philip the Fair also issued edicts against them on account of the "pericula et incommoda" to which they gave rise.[4] In 1318 Philip the Tall renewed

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1. Du Cange, "De l'origine et de l'usage des Tournois", pp. 171f.

2. Guillaume de Nangis, De Vita et Miraculis S.Ludovici (Bouquet, op.cit., Vol. XX, 1840, p. 412).

3. Du Cange, loc.cit., p. 172. Cf. also the Roman du Hem, 112ff.: Fix fu le bon roy Loëv,/ Icil rois dont je vous recort./ Ou fust a droit ou fust a tort,/ Il desfendi le tournoiier,/ Dont mout de gent dut enoiier.

4. Du Cange, loc.cit. p. 172.

the prohibition because (to quote the words of Du Cange): "Si nous les souffrions à faire, nous ne pourrions avoir les Nobles de nostre Royaume si prestement pour aidier à nostre guerre de Flandres."[1] Sometimes the reasons underlying this policy of repression concerned merely the personal prestige of the monarch. Du Cange tells how Philip the Fair issued an edict forbidding the nobles to give or attend private tournaments under pain of imprisonment or confiscation of goods, in order that no competition from other quarters should outshine the brilliance of the tournament he himself wished to promote in honour of his eldest son's receiving knighthood.[2]

3.

> ... races and games,
> Or tilting furniture, emblazoned shields,
> Impresses quaint, caparisons and steeds,
> Bases and tinsel trappings, gorgeous knights
> At joust and tournament ...[3]

Abergavenny:

> I do know
> Kinsmen of mine, three at the least, that have
> By this so sickened their estates, that never
> They shall abide as formerly.

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1. Du Cange, loc.cit. p. 173.

2. Ibid.

3. Paradise Lost, Book IX.

Buckingham: O many
Have broke their backs with laying manors on them
For this great journey.[1]

By the end of the thirteenth century the rulers of England, Germany and France alike were thus striving to keep the tournament in their own hands, surrendering the privilege only to those powerful nobles whom they knew themselves to be unable to hold in check. What enabled them in large measure to enforce this policy, however, was not so much the authority of the Crown as simple economic necessity. The pressure of competitive display on those taking part, and the craving for more and more spectacular magnificence among the onlookers, working in a vicious spiral, made the tournament an increasingly expensive affair. Participation alone demanded a considerable financial outlay, and to stage one was something beyond the means of all but the most affluent. In other words, the first pre-requisite for the tournament was no longer personal valour or chivalric ardour, but wealth.

This change in the character of the tournament is accompanied by a change in geographical location. In the earlier period, roughly up to the end of the twelfth century,

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1. Shakespeare, Henry VIII, I, 1.

French tournaments tended to be most frequent in the north west, where Angevin and Norman influence was predominant. The classic text for the study of the tourney at this time is the Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, several thousand lines of which are taken up with accounts of the various contests in which the Marshal played a distinguished part. Of these, two or three only (2875ff., 4457ff.) were held in the Marne region, one (3426ff.) at Joigny-sur-Yonne, and three (2471ff., 5491ff., 5974ff.) near Compiègne, but the greater number are located in the provinces of Sarthe (1201ff.) and Mayenne (1381ff.), the districts near Dreux (2773ff., 3681ff., 3888ff.) Chartres (4285ff., 4977ff.), Eu (3181ff.) and St-Pierre-sur-Dives in Normandy (7192ff.). It must be remembered that these few names represent only a small proportion of the countless places which the Marshal must have visited in the course of his long career as a knight-errant of the tourney.

For two years during this time he struck up a partnership with a certain Roger de Gaugi (3381ff.) a chevalier tournoyeur like himself, and a bold and successful jouster, though - in the view of the Marshal - perhaps a trifle too greedy for gain. It is significant that this Roger came from Flanders, and from the last quarter of the twelfth century onwards, the emphasis shifts in fact every more

strongly to the provinces of north-east France, Lorraine, Flanders and the Low Countries, those regions where flourishing trade and an urban economy based on money rather than landed property had brought about a degree of prosperity that was almost legendary.[1] The leading patrons of the tournament are now the Dukes of Lorraine, Burgundy or Brabant, the Counts of Luxemburg and Flanders, Holland and Hainault. Places like Nancy and Péronne, Corbie, Hesdin, Tournai, Calais, Boulogne, Sandricourt, Châlons-sur-Marne and Châlon-sur-Saone figure in the records of the time as the scene of celebrated tourneys. Two of these, at Ham-sur-Somme in 1278[2] and at Chauvency near the Meuse in 1285 are even made the subject for lengthy rhymed chronicles. Guillaume, the hero of Flamenca, goes jousting through Flanders and wins the admiration of the Count by his handsomeness and bravery; he further distinguishes himself even more brilliantly at a great tournament given at Louvain by the Duke of Brabant, in which 4,000 knights take part.[3] Some of them are given

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1. The change is, as it were, symbolized by the account of the tournament at Nantes in Marie de France's Chaitivel, where among the French, Norman and Angevin knights there are also knights from Boulogne, Flanders and Brabant (lines 77-79), the chief opponents of the four heroes of the story being dous Flamens et dous Henoiers.

2. A. Henry in his edition of the text prefers the alternative location, at Hem, between Péronne and Bray.

3. Flamenca, 6941ff., 6984ff.

the names of historical personages and the romance may well preserve the memory of some actual event. The popularity of the tournament in Flanders is acknowledged even by the Swabian author of Des Teufels Netz, when he singles out the Flemish knights for particular mention along with those from his own native region:-

7732 ... stechen, turnieren durch ainander
von Swaben und von Flander.

So the young Gregorius in Hartmann von Aue's poem, dreaming of the tournament in his abbey school, sees himself outshining even the knights of Hainault, Brabant and Haspengau.[1] Nor was the tournament in these provinces restricted to the knights. The rich burgesses of such cities as Lille, Bruges, Arras, were permitted to organize jousts for themselves on a scale not countenanced elsewhere. Such were the "Compaignie du prince d'Amour" at Tournai, the "Fête des Forestiers" at Bruges; and the most famous of them all, the "Jeux de l'Espinette" at Lille, became an annual event that lasted for two centuries, from 1283 to 1483, in which the tournament was combined with a grand carnival pageant presided over by a "king" elected each year.[2] The

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1. Hartmann von Aue, Gregorius 1573ff.

2. F.H. Cripps-Day, A history of the tournament in England and France (London 1918), pp. 21f. and Leber, Collection des meilleurs Dissertations XIII (Paris 1838), pp. 103ff.

passion for tourneying even made its influence felt in high ecclesiastical circles. Philippe Mouskat, who died in 1282, was Bishop of Tournai, but his Chronique rimée[1] betrays in many places his love of

> Jouli les biaus tornois
> Dont fieste venoit et desnois.

De Reiffenberg cites[2] the further example of Jean le Bel, Canon of Liège, who was a lover of the tournament as of all worldly gaieties. La Colombière sums up the matter truly when he speaks of "Flandres, Brabant et (les) aultres basses Marches, où ils font voulentiers Tournois".[3]

That the tournament should in the course of time became a vehicle for the display of wealth rather than personal prowess was inevitable. And if in consequence the element of risk grew less and the element of showiness increased, this was not necessarily a proof that the knight was becoming chicken-hearted or materialistic in his outlook. The tournament was by its very nature intensely and cumulatively competitive. But valour is not a thing that can go on surpassing itself indefinitely, nor is it a thing where the mere will to outshine all rivals is in itself

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1. Ed. de Reiffenberg, Brussels 1836.
2. Ibid., note on line 35.
3. Op.cit., I, p. 71.

sufficient to guarantee superiority. Not even technical skill, the product of tradition and training, can be perfected beyond a certain limit, or placed automatically at the beck and call of any who wish to possess it. Expenditure and outward show were a much less testing and hazardous basis for rivalry, for here, given certain material conditions, every man could set his own terms; the extent of his achievement rested with himself alone, and there was virtually no limit to the heights that could be attained by the resolute. In this race for pre-eminence all who could afford to enter, and who were able to stand the pace, could be sure of a prize.

The urge towards ostentation was heightened by the fact that the tournament was becoming more and more a social occasion, attended by a considerable amount of publicity. Participants were no longer engaged in a simple match of strength and skill among themselves, but were striving to eclipse each other in a presence of a large audience that included, besides their fellow-knights, ladies, minstrels, retainers, townsfolk and peasants, pausing on their rustic errands, like old Helmbrecht, to gape and wonder. The valour and address by which, in the days of the old casual running frays, the knights had sought to distinguish themselves in the eyes of their peers, could not be expertly

judged, nor perhaps even recognized, by this very mixed company of spectators. Amid the mêlée of the tournament proper the general dust and confusion would tend to conceal individual prowess from all but those actually involved in the contest. Even the joust, which was specially designed to give each knight in turn an opportunity to enjoy the limelight, was over so quickly that only the experienced eye could appreciate the fine points of dexterity on which success or failure depended. It is true that others besides knights - for example, many ladies of rank - became enthusiastic connoisseurs of the joust, able to relish technicalities for their own sake. But something more sensational was needed to impress the crowd and win its approbation, and this could best be provided by exploiting what Veblen has described as the principle of "conspicuous consumption".[1]

Some of this consumption was unavoidable once the tournament became above all a public spectacle. An arena had to be cleared and marked off by barriers, lists had to be set up and stands erected for the principal spectators. Round this arena the knights taking part, who had in many cases come some distance, pitched their tents in a great encampment where grooms and cooks, armourers and seamstresses,

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1. Thorstein Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class (New York 1912), pp. 68ff.

chaplains and leeches, pedlars and minstrels jostled each other for room. All this apparatus, together with the knight's horse and armour, demanded a considerable monetary outlay. Nevertheless, these were the mere essentials, from which no particular honour or glory could accrue. Honour consisted in going as far as possible beyond what was needful, and more and more money was poured out on actual personal equipment. Tents had to be more numerous and splendid; extra horses and suits of armour were assembled in reserve; the cult of armorial bearings necessitated the provision of blasoned crests and surcoats, shields and banners, not to speak of caparisons for the horses. Nor was this expenditure limited to the person of the knight. He gathered round him a troop of followers, whose sole function was to be (using once again Veblen's admirable phrase) "instruments of vicarious consumption" - living advertisements who displayed their master's livery,[1]

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1. The use of livery in the tournament seems to have established itself quite early, and many examples from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries could be quoted, e.g. Frd. 73,3ff: Mîn schilt, mîn helm was grüen gar,/ und mîniu zwelf sper grüen gevar./ mîn knehte grüen, ir pferd alsam; Reinfrid von Braunschweig, 410ff.: Die nam er al ze sîner schar / und hiez sie vazzen in ein kleit,/ wol ahzic ritter, sô man seit; Hartmann's Erec, 2872f.: Sehzic gesellen die er gelîch / zuo im gekleite. Squires seem to have been dressed entirely in their master's livery, knights voluntarily banded together in a troop under a certain leader wore his livery on their surcoat, but were free to wear their own personal crest on their helmets (e.g. Frd. 298,1f.: sî truogen ir helm sunderlîch,/ ir wâpenkleit was gar gelîch.)

fought in his train, ate at his table, published his praises and demonstrated by the simple fact of their presence the superiority of his knightly virtues.

Naturally their presence had to be made as conspicuous as possible, and in the art of parading their retinues and accoutrements before the gaze of the admiring throng the knights evinced a remarkable flair for pageantry and dramatic effect. Even the time of day for staging the procession was carefully calculated to produce the maximum sensation. Thus Ulrich von Lichtenstein, entering Mestre at the beginning of the Venusfahrt chooses the early morning, when the townspeople are afoot, but not yet distracted by the business and gossip of the day.[1] First come the marshal and chief cook, with a standard-bearer and two trumpeters; then three pack-horses, each led by a groom, and three destriers ready saddled, led by squires; next Ulrich's snow-white shield and crested helmet are borne along, followed by a musician with pipe and tabor, four mounted squires, each with a bundle of three lances, two beautiful girls in white, two fiddlers playing a gay reisenote, and finally, when the excitement and curiosity of the crowd might be expected to have risen to fever-pitch, Ulrich

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1. Gahmuret times his entry into Kanvoleis for an even earlier hour, so that he rouses the sleeping townsfolk from their beds (Parzival, II, 122ff.).

himself in his most dazzling Venus-costume. He records, not without satisfaction, that

164,31 diu leute sêre sogten zuo;
umb mich wart ein vil grôz gedranc.

Yet this escort is modest compared with that organized by Otto von Lengenbach, Domvogt of Regensburg, when he joins Ulrich's company of knights in the make-believe capacity of "marshal to Lady Venus".[1] That so great a noble should seek to associate himself with a chivalric enterprise, that he should ceremonially place his person, along with a brilliant retinue, at the service of a lesser man, is regarded by Ulrich both as a proof of knightly generosity in the Domvogt and as a tribute to himself. Doubtless it was both of these things, but behind the genuine enthusiasm and admiration one can also sense a touch of jealousy, a longing for the limelight that is instinctively begrudged to another. The complex and contradictory impulses underlying romantic chivalry are, as it were, summed up in this gesture, which undermines, in the very act of paying homage to, the achievements of a fellow-knight. Certainly the magnificent cavalcade which the Domvogt orders to defile before the eyes of his new "mistress" puts Ulrich's own entourage completely in the shade. After the standard-

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1. Frd., 246,17 - 249,8.

bearer who leads the procession come fifty crossbow-men accompanied by their fifty light horses, ready saddled à la turque; then fifty squires riding two by two, each with a lance; then a second banner; next fifty destriers, together with fifty brand-new shields and three hundred lances; next a band of fifty knights with green cloaks meisterlich gesniten and jingling harness; and lastly the Domvogt in person, superbly mounted, in green and gold brocade, a scarlet cloak and a peacock-feather hat. To such a scene Wolfram's description of Gahmuret's entry into Kanvoleis might justly be applied:-

II,150 Von schouwen wart dâ grôz gedranc.
vil dicke aldâ gevrâget wart
wer waer' der rîter âne bart,
der fuorte alsölhe rîcheit.

On other occasions, the curiosity of the spectators could be forestalled by heralds, who were sent before to clear a way through the crowd and to publish the name and fame of their master.[1]

Nevertheless, the cost of equipment was only one part of the expenditure in which a tourneying knight was involved, whether he liked it or not. Rîcheit in one's own person

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1. Eg. Meleranz von dem Pleier (ed. K. Bartsch, Bibl.d.Lit. Vereins in Stuttgart, LX, Stuttgart 1861), 8134ff.: Ouch was bereit der küene man / von Fortsoboreast Verangôz./ sîn höhvart diu was grôz./ vil bûsûnen vor im erhal,/ der galm gap vil grôzen schal,/ tambûren floitieren,/ man hôrt dâ vil grogieren,/ garzûne vor im liefen,/ die vil lûte riefen:/ 'Wîche, herre, wîche,/ hie kumt der ellens rîche,/ der werde künic Verangôz,/ des lop mit wârheit ist grôz.'

and entourage was very well, but it was also necessary to display richeit in action - that is, in the form of largesse. For if it was honourable to spend money recklessly on oneself, it was even more honourable to fling it away on others.

The motives underlying the cult of largesse will be treated in more detail elsewhere. Here it is sufficient to indicate the various demands made by the tournament on the munificence of the knights, and to show how only too often the price of honour was complete material ruin. In the earlier period these obligations had been somewhat less urgent. The presence of a large and steadily growing audience rendered them doubly rigorous, for there were now many more people not only to profit from, but also to witness, these gestures of liberality, and the knights had to strain every nerve in their efforts to satisfy the standards imposed by public opinion.

First and most important were the minstrels, in whose hands the fame of a knight, for good or ill, did to a large extent rest. The tournament was not the only sphere of life where it was necessary to purchase their good will, but it was the place where honour was most conspicuously at stake and where reputations were made and lost before the eyes of the only world that mattered. The minstrel could proclaim the exploits and virtues of the generous far beyond

the limits of the actual tourney,[1] he could also, if treated in niggardly fashion, hold up a knight far and wide to derision and shame. Here, as nowhere else, the bargain guot umbe êre was not an affair of choice, but of necessity, a proposition of the most elementary self-interest. Knowing this, the minstrels flocked to the tournament in expectation of a rich harvest; nor were they disappointed. Some of them might even be hired by the knights as heralds or kreiierer,[2] and their services lavishly remunerated, but even the casual hanger-on would not be sent away empty-handed.[3] No account of a tournament in France or Germany

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1. If among the minstrels there chanced to be a man of superior poetic gifts, he might cast his account of the tournament in permanent literary form. Jacques Bretel or Bretex, the author of the Tournoi de Chauvency, was such a man. His poem was apparently composed from day to day during the events it celebrates, and combines conventional flattery and panegyric with a conscientious reportage of detail that betrays a great personal interest in, and knowledge of, the things he describes.

2. Ottokar von Steier (ed. Pez, Script.Rer.Austr.III), DCXCVIII: Dy groverær, die sich nennent lantvarer, and Mai und Beaflor (ed. Dichtungen des Mittelalters 7, Leipzig 1848), p. 88,25: Vil varnder liute man dâ sach./ Maneger von den wâpen sprach,/ daz man kreiieren nennet;/ an den man daz erkennet,/ daz sie die decke zerrent hin,/ wan dar an lît ir gewin. (Both quoted by Schultz, op. cit. II, p. 124, notes 7 and 8).

3. The Novelle "Maria und die Hausfrau" (GA., No.LXXVIII) 22ff. tells of a knight who was a great frequenter of tourneys: Und swâ er immer was gewest,/ dâ jach an in der liute lop;/ wand sîn gabe was so grop / spilliuten unde vrien,/ daz si muosten schrien / mit offenlichen worten / sîn lop an allen orten. His wife, on the other hand, was devout and lavish in alms-giving: 67ff. ir man gap spilliuten vil hin: / sô liez ir tugentlîcher sîn / sich die Gotes armen / mit milter hant erbarmen.

is complete without a mention of the *jongleurs*, the *varndiu diet*, and many a knight must have found them his undoing, like the man of whom Caesarius of Heisterbach writes:- *Causa enim laudis humanae torneamentis totus deditus erat, histrionibus larga manu sua tribuebat. Et quia ad tales effusiones redditus annui minus sufficiebant, hereditatem paternam vendere compellebatur.*[1]

However, this was only one aspect of the matter. Strict observance of the code of honour also required certain gestures of generosity towards fellow-knights. These could take the form of actual gifts, or of limitless hospitality either before or after the tourney,[2] but it was in the treatment of prisoners and booty that they were shown to best advantage. Ransoms could be remitted and

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1. *Op.cit.*, Book II, chap. xii.

2. Cf. *Erec*, 2390ff.: *swelher der gesellen sin / durch gesellescheft geruochte,/ daz er sin herberge suochte,/ der wart schône enphangen dâ*; *Frd.*, 299,13f.: *manic ritter in min herberge gie / die naht*, and the *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, 4331ff.: *E si est costome qu'al seir / Vont li un les autres veeir / A lor ostels: c'est beals usages,/ Si funt sus corteis e que sages.* Jacques de Vitry (in the passage on the Seven Deadly Sins of Tourneying, quoted above) sees things in a rather different light: *Non carent torneamenta mortali peccato VI quod est castrimargia dum mutuo, propter mundi pompam, invitant ad prandia et invitantur; non solum bona sua sed et bona pauperum in superfluis commessationibus expendunt, et de alieno corio largas faciunt corrigias.*

captives released on parole, on performance of some nominal act of submission, or even unconditionally; captured horses, armour and other spoils could be restored on the spot to their original owner, or given away to a third person, another knight, or perhaps a squire or herald.[1] By such acts a knight could afford the most convincing proof that his pursuit of glory was unsullied by any desire for material profit. Nevertheless, this was a point where theory and practice frequently tended to part company. No knight could afford to indulge in such quixotries unless he were sure that the gain in point of honour would outweigh the material loss, in other words, unless he were in the presence of a public, or even an individual, on whom it was necessary at all costs to make an impression. Heroes of romance might behave in this disinterested manner, like Erec at Tarebron:-

2618 wand er dar niene kam
ûf guotes gewin;
daran kêrter sînen sin,
ob er den pris möhte bejagen,

- or knights who, like Ulrich, were bent on turning life itself into a romance, but, as we shall later have occasion

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1. Cf. Flamenca, 1688ff., where the generosity of the young gallant Guillaume at the tourney is described: Cavalliers pren. cavals gazaina,/ E tot o gasta e o dona.

to see, the average man held views of a somewhat more realistic kind; at any rate, the turnei umbe guot, though frowned upon by the idealists, continued to flourish unchecked throughout the Middle Ages.

Most irrational and non-utilitarian, and therefore most honourable, of all was purely indiscriminate largesse - prize money tossed at random into the crowd, equipment abandoned, once the tournament was over, to any who cared to help themselves, for the knight (in theory, at least) returned home laden with honour in proportion as he had stripped himself of material possessions. So Ulrich, at the end of the Venusfahrt, rides away secretly leaving his horses and all the trappings of his enterprise in the hands of his "marshal" to be distributed to the Spielleute.[1]

To all this expenditure must be added the deliberate wastefulness which was an essential feature of the tourney - the breaking of lances, the damage to armour and costly fabrics, quite apart from staged acts of destruction, the "ceremonial annihilation of property" to which A.T. Hatto refers in his article on "Moris von Craon".[2]

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1. Frd., 288,17 - 290,16.

2. Op.cit., p. 298. This aspect of the tourney is treated in greater detail on pages 314ff. .

In view of all this, it is scarcely surprising that many jousters who took their chivalric obligations seriously, or who attempted to carry out Ulrich's policy of der koste kleine mich bevilt without possessing Ulrich's skill and good fortune found themselves on the verge of beggary. In the literature of the time there are many descriptions of men coming away from the tourney penniless, having lost horses, armour and retainers alike. The fabliau Du Prestre et du Chevalier[1] opens with an account of how

> ... uns Chevaliers molt povrement
> Repairoit du tournoiement;
> Si avoit tout perdu le sien,
> Et si avoit esté si bien
> Batus que, s'il donnast .c. saus,
> Ne trouvast-il qui tant de cols
> Li donast pour .c. sols contés.
> Laidement fu debaretés;
> Si ot toute sa compaignie
> Perdue et toute sa mainsnie,
> Et son harnas et son conroi ...

Some ran into debt in order to equip themselves beforehand, like the knight described in Hueline et Aiglantine:-

> Et quant il vait à ces tornois,
> Don li estuet par fin destrois
> Deniers querre à emprunter,

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1. MR., No. XXXIV.

Don il se puisse conrêer.[1]

Others, unlucky enough to be taken prisoner by someone who had no desire to pose as a Gawain, had to go to the money-lenders and pawn their belongings in order to pay their ransom. Ulrich reports, for instance, that after the tournament at Friesach

96,3 dô muosten dâ hin ze den juden varn
si alle, di dâ gevangen wârn.
man sach si setzen alsehant
vil maniger hande kostlîches pfant.
die dâ gewunnen heten guot,
di wâren vrô und hôch gemuot.[2]

Indeed the passion for tourneying seems to have cost many men the whole of their inheritance. There is the

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1. D.M. Méon, Nouveau recueil de fabliaux et contes (Paris 1823), I, p. 353. A similar débat between two girls concerning the qualities they prize in a lover is published by Jeanroy, Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France, App. "Textes", pp. 468ff.: one declares: Une autres me refait proier / Frans et cortois et beaux palliers,/ Et quant il revs tornoier,/ En son païs meillor ne quier (12ff.), the other raises practical objections to such a choice: Dit la fause: 'Qui vos creroit / De mesaise et de fain morroit;/ N'aing pas chevalier qui tornoit,/ Et erre et despent et agroit / Et an yver se muert de froit,/ Quant sa creance est faillie (33ff.).

2. The Novelle Marienritter (GA., No. LXXXIII) tells of the plight of a gay young knight whose entire property falls into the hands of creditors and who is plunged head over ears in debt because an turnei und an tschuste / verlôs er mê dan er gewan (10f.).

young man in Rittertreue[1] who, having already wasted most of his father's substance von turneis schulden even during the latter's lifetime, prefers to beg for yet more money rather than forego his favourite sport; or the youth in Der Jungherr und der treue Heinrich,[2] who is at length reduced to selling the whole of his patrimony for the sake of the joust; or the three impecunious brothers in La Houce Partie,[3] who

> 110 ... n'avoient point d'eritage,
> Que tout n'éussent mis en gage,
> Terres et bois et tenemenz,
> Por suirre les tornoiemenz.

The moralists of the time, as one might expect, castigated the folly of those who courted poverty in pursuit of worldly vanities:-

> Maxime cum eorum domini prodigalitati vacantes et luxui pro Torneamentis et pomposa saeculi vanitate expensis superfluis et debitis astringebantur et usuris.[4]

The more indulgent verdict of their peers proclaimed them martyrs to the cause of honour; so it is said of the hero of Die alte Mutter:-[5]

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1. GA., No. VI.
2. GA., No. LXIV.
3. MR., No. V.
4. Jacques de Vitry, Hist.Occid., Book 2, chap. 3 (quoted Du Cange, Diss. VI, p. 171).
5. GA., No. V.

Des vlouk sîn lop über velt:
er vertet siner huoben gelt
als man seit, nâch wердikeit ...
und vertet unde gewan
als ein êrbaerer man.

But either way their recklessness is not without its tragic aspect, since in ruining themselves they hastened the ruin of those very ideals for which they had thrown away their substance.

4.

"De la narration de ce Bon Moine vous apprendrez, Gentilhomme Lecteur, que ces Behours et Tournoyemens n'estoient presque jamais sans effusion de sang, et qu'il y en avoit tousjours quelqu'un de mal disné, et qui payoit l'escot de ceste Feste aux despens de sa Vie."[1]

It was not only in the figurative sense that the tournament - to use Shakespeare's phrase - broke men's backs. We have seen how the knight in Le Prestre et le Chevalier returns home not merely impoverished but beaten up as well. He was fortunate to have escaped so lightly. Bruises, cuts and sprains were taken for granted in the tourney, as Ulrich makes only too clear, for example, in his account of the fighting at Friedach:-

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1. André Favyn, Le théâtre d'hopneur et de chevalerie (Paris 1620), p. 1802.

84,26 Mit schilden manic grôzen stôz
wart gestôzen dort und hie,
dâ von geswellen muosten knie.
peule, wunden dâ gewan
von spern vil manic biderb man.
mit ringen tâtens wê ir liden,
der wart vil maniges dâ verriden.

The Anglo-Norman Blancheflour et Florence[1] paints an even more dismal picture of the battered condition to which a knight might be reduced:-

217 Kar, quant il vendra d'un tornois
Bien batu, e a fieble arroie,
Of los oez ensenglaunteez,
E ses jaumbes e ses bras,
Nafrez, fiebles, feintz e laas,
E tot le corps deberdilles ...

Many emerged from the mêlée permanently disabled, like William Longespée, son of the Earl of Salisbury, a natural son of Henry II, who received such injuries at a tournament at Blyth in 1256 that he was never the same man again.[2] Others had the wits beaten out of them for life, like Count Robert of Clermont, the youngest son of St. Louis and brother of King Philip III, a handsome and generous youth of twenty-two, who in his very first tourney as a freshly-

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1. Ed. P. Meyer (Romania XXXVII, 1908, pp. 221ff.). Cf. also the Tournoi de Chauvency, 3816ff.: Mout par estoit Perars hideus,/ Haligotéz et detailliéz,/ Ferus et frapéz et mailliéz.

2. Matthew Paris, Chron.maj., V, p. 557.

dubbed knight armorum pondere praegravatus, et malleorum ictibus super caput pluries et fortiter percussus, vexatione cerebri intenitus, decidit in amentiam perpetuam.[1]

Among those who actually met their deaths in the tournament were several princes, dukes and others of the highest nobility. The list reaches far back into the twelfth century, though, judging from the records of the time, it was the thirteenth century that saw the greatest number of casualties. A few examples may suffice.

The death of Konrad, son of the Margrave of Meissen, in 1175 has already been mentioned. In 1186 Geoffrey of Brittany, the third son of Henry II, fell from his horse and was trampled to death.[2] In 1194 the horse of Leopold VI of Austria fell, inflicting such injuries on the rider that he died shortly after.[3] In 1216 Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, was killed by a lance-thrust.[4] In 1223 Count Florent of Holland and Count Philip of Boulogne and

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1. Guillaume de Nangis, Gesta Philippi Regis (Bouquet, op.cit., XX, 1840, p. 512). Cf. Unser Frouen Ritter (GA, No. LXXIII), 114ff.: Mit hurte in twank punieren grôz,/ do er in der grôsten herte was,/das er muoste nider ûf das gras,/ und wart ze tôde ertretet./ des noch vil manik wetet.
2. Benedict of Peterborough, Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi (Rolls Edn.), I, p. 350.
3. See the article on Leopold in the Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie.
4. Roger de Wendover, Flores Historiarum (Rolls Edn.), II, p.176.

Clermont were killed at Corbie.[1] In 1234 another Count Florent of Holland, the fourth of that name, was trampled to death, and four years later his brother William perished in the same way.[2] In 1241, the year of the disaster at Neuss, Gilbert, Earl of Pembroke, was tourneying at Hertford; his reins broke as he was spurring his horse to a gallop, the horse, flinging its head back, struck him a violent blow on the body, stunning him so that he fell from the saddle, to be dragged for some distance by one foot caught in the stirrup; when eventually the horse was brought under control, his injuries were beyond all healing and after some days of excruciating pain he died.[3] In 1268 Margrave John of Brandenburg was killed at Merseburg.[4] In 1279 Landfried of Hohenlandsberg was suffocatus at Strassburg where, thirty years before, to the very day, his father had met a similar fate.[5] In 1290, Louis, son of Duke Louis of Bavaria, was killed by a lance-thrust.[6] In 1294 Duke

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1. Du Cange, Diss. VI, p. 170 cites as reference Johannes à Leydis, Book 22, chap. 16.

2. Gesta Abbatum Horti Sanctae Mariae (MGH.SS. XXIII, p. 595).

3. Matthew Paris, Chron.maj., IV, pp. 135f.

4. Chron.minor.Auct. Minorita Erphordiensi (MGH.SS., XXIV, p. 206).

5. Annales Colmarienses Maiores (MGH.SS. XVII, p. 204).

6. Schultz, op.cit., II, p. 116 gives a reference to the Monachi Fürstenfeldensis Chronicon de Gestis Principum.

John of Brabant, one of the most experienced jousters in Europe, was killed by a French knight at his own tournament at Bar-sur-Aube.[1] And the catalogue could be prolonged up to 1551, when the tourney at last claimed as its victim a reigning king in the person of Henry II of France.

These were great nobles, whose deaths would in any case be likely to find a place in the annals of their day. But a host of lesser men must have died in the tournament, whose names and fate were never recorded. Only now and then we get a glimpse of the slaughter that must have gone on. If Archbishop Wichmann was so implacable in refusing Christian burial to Konrad of Meissen, it was because this pestifer ludus, as the chronicler calls it, had within a single year caused the deaths of sixteen knights of Saxony.[2] Gilbert of Pembroke was not the only casualty in the tournament at Hertford; Matthew Paris relates that many other knights and squires were killed or wounded in an affair that began as a sport and ended in deadly earnest. The same thing was said of the tournament between the men of the Count of Châlons and a company of knights under Prince

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1. This event created a great stir and is mentioned in many contemporary records; see Cripps-Day, op.cit., p. 29, note 3.

2. Chronicon Montis Sereni (MGH.SS., XXIII, p. 155).

Edward, later Edward I, in 1270: In hastiludio isto multus sanguis effusus est, unde nomen illius mutatum est ita quod non torniamentum sed parvum bellum de Chalons communiter diceretur.[1] The barrier between mock and serious warfare naturally tended to break down more rapidly and completely when national rivalries were involved. The classic example of a contest of this kind is an incident of the Hundred Years War recounted by Froissart,[2] the "Battle of the Thirty", when thirty French knights met the same number of Englishmen, ostensibly "for love of their ladies", but in reality to work off their feelings of mutual enmity. Many of the combatants were left on the field, and of the survivors there was none who did not carry the scars of the encounter till his dying day.

However, not all the deaths can be put down to the score of national hostility. Genuine accidents (such as probably caused the death of Leopold VI of Austria) must have been very common, especially in the tournament proper, where the close hand-to-hand fighting and the wild confusion that resulted made it quite impossible to prevent them.

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1. Chronicle of Henry Knighton of Leicester (Rolls Edn.), I, pp. 265f.

2. Froissart, Book I, part II, chap. 7.

It is also understandable that in the general din and excitement the knights should have been carried away by their fighting enthusiasm and their ambition for glory to a fury more ruthless than they had intended, or were wholly conscious of. Matthew Paris ascribes the bloodshed at Hertford to envy - "invidia multorum ludum in praelium commutavit" - and even hints that the death of Gilbert was due to foul play at the hands of a jealous rival. Jacques de Vitry, writing of the seven deadly sins of tournaments, asserts: non carent invidia, cum unus aliis invideat, eo quod magis strenuus in armis reputetur et maiorem laudem assignatur. Non carent odio et ira cum unus alium percutit et male tractat, et plerum letaliter vulnerat et occidit: sed et inde quartum mortale peccatum incurrunt, quod est accidia vel tristicia.[1]

This last is significant, for it indicates the reaction of remorse and self-disgust that followed when the knight's hot blood had cooled. However ungovernable their impulses of hatred or envy may have proved in actual practice, there seems no doubt that the code of chivalric honour, in theory at least, set its face strongly against anything in the shape of treachery or even undue violence in the tourney.

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1. Jacques de Vitry, loc.cit.

The sullen, shifty features attributed by the sculptor of the Stifterchor in Naumburg Cathedral to Tino von Kisterits, who killed a fellow-knight in a tournament out of revenge for an insult offered a year before, betray only too plainly what public opinion thought of such an action.

In the "Lytyll Gest of Robyn Hode" a knight comes to Robin in deep distress; his lands and all his possessions are forfeit and he is deserted by his friends, because:-

> I had a sone, forsoth, Robyn,
> That shulde haue ben myn ayre;
> Whanne he was twenty wynter olde,
> In felde wolde iust full fayre.
>
> He slewe a knyght of Lancaster,
> And a squyer bolde:
> For to saue hym in his ryght
> My godes both sette and solde.[1]

Popular exaggeration has probably been at work in this ballad, but it is true that the killing of an opponent in the joust was particularly dishonourable, for the joust was not so much a contest of arms as a game involving a demonstration of personal skill, in token of which it was supposed to be fought with special blunted weapons. It was not unknown for a jouster to use a pointed lance instead of a blunted one, either by accident or design, but any deaths that might

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1. Child, English and Scottish Popular Ballads, No. 117, stanzas 52, 53.

occur in consequence would render him an object of deep suspicion and reproach. Matthew Paris[1] tells how a knight called Roger de Leyburne (or Lemburn) attacked a certain Arnold de Montigny with a lance quius mucro, prout debuerat, non fuerat hebetatus, and killed him. There was universal grief at his death, but none grieved (or seemed to grieve, observes Matthew shrewdly) more sincerely than the author of the mishap, qui confestim pro liberatione animae ejus cruce se signavit peregrinaturus. Whether this "penance" was ever carried out we do not know.

Most deeply regretted of all were fatal accidents in tourneys or jousts durch diu wip, for these represented the chivalric pursuit of honour in its purest form, and here any transgression of the laws of knighthood appeared doubly heinous. In Marie de France's Chaitivel four knights go to a tournament for love of the same lady; three are killed and one seriously wounded. One gets the impression that the whole tourney is at once abandoned, amid signs of extravagant mourning:[2]

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1. Chron.maj., V, pp. 318f.

2. In the same way Philippe Mousket reports that the tourney in which William of Holland was killed was at once abandoned on his death (Chronique rimée, 30003: Mors est et li tornois remaint).

Cil ki a mort les unt nafrez,
lur escuz unt es chans getez;
mult esteient pur els dolent,
nel firent pas a escient.
La noise leva e li cris,
unques tels doels ne fu ois.
Pur la dolur des chevaliers
i aveit itels dous milliers
ki lur ventaille deslaçouent,
chevels e barbes detirouent.
Entre els esteit li doels comuns.

Ulrich von Lichtenstein is grieved and horrified when he thinks that he has slain his adversary, a certain Ruprecht of Purstendorf; he can only retrieve this blow to his honour by retiring from the field immediately:-

278,20ff. man wânt des wol, das er waer tôt:
daz was mir herzenlichen leit;
von leide ich abe dem velde reit
in die herberge trûrichlich.
mîn lîp was unmuotes rîch.

Ulrich grieves not so much for the man himself, as for his own reputation; the public gestures of mourning are, one feels, largely a matter of form. Only rarely do we hear the accents of genuine personal sorrow for this wastage of human lives. Wolfram von Eschenbach comes near to it, when he describes the deaths of Isenhart, Belakane's first love, and of Galoes, the brother of Gahmuret, both killed jousting for their lady.[1] But it is left for the chanson de toile,

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1. Parzival I, 454ff. and II, 978ff.

an essentially "feminine" form of poetry, to convey with simple pathos a situation that must have arisen countless times in real life:-

> Bele Doette as fenestres se siet,
> Lit en un livre, mais au cuer ne l'en tient:
> De son ami Doon li ressovient
> Q'en autres terres est alez tornoier
> E or en ai dol.

She sees a squire approaching:-

> Bele Doette tantost li demanda:
> "Ou est mes sires qui ne vi tel pieça?"
> Cil ot tel duel que de pitié plora;
> Bele Doette maintenant se pasma:
> E or en ai dol.
>
> Bele Doette li prist a demander:
> "Ou est mes sires, cui je doi tant aimer?"
> "En non deu, dame, nel vos quier mais celer:
> Morz est mes sires, ocis fu au joster."
> E or en ai dol. [1]

5.

> "Cist maintienent le droit mestier,
> Cist ont le pardon tout entier,
> Cist sont droit saint et droit martyrs,
> Cist doivent bien a droit partir
> As biens c'onors et loiautés
> A mainte fois au siens prestés ...
> Je ne sai si gentil conqueste
> Pour conquester honor, qu'est ceste ..." [2]

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1. Bartsch, RP., I, 3.

2. Tournoi de Chauvency, 3857ff.

Thus the tournament presents the modern student with a fascinating puzzle. For its devotees, as we have seen, it might mean the ban of the Church, the threat of hell, the strictures of moralists and men of sense, including those of their own class, the displeasure of the secular authorities, impoverishment, physical injury and perhaps death. Yet the attraction of the sport was so strong that none of these things apparently had any deterrent effect. On the contrary, the enthusiasm even infected the enemy camp, as it were, so that many found themselves hankering after the very thing they were bound, in the name of discipline, reason and morals, to condemn.

Philippe Mousket and Jean le Bel were by no means the only clerics to have secret, or even open, sympathies towards the tournament. Although Honorius III issued a decree in 1227 forbidding priests even to attend tourneys,[1] the Papal edict was so far ignored that the clergy had repeatedly to be restrained from actually taking part in them.[2] A mysterious "pfaffe von der Vriesstat" is mentioned by Ulrich von Lichtenstein as being among those who come in

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1. Hefele-Leclercq, op.cit., V,2, para. 653, p. 1463.

2. Three instances from the thirteenth century are quoted by Schultz, op.cit., II, p. 111, note 1.

the train of Duke Frederick to the tournament at Neustadt.[1]

Even the moralists were not wholly inflexible. Humbert de Romans concedes that "il y a dans les tournois des choses tout à fait condamnables, d'autres qu'on peut tolérer, d'autres qu'on doit approuver.".[2] Caesarius of Heisterbach, while never explicitly deviating from the official view that the tournament was pernicious and damnable, includes in his Dialogus Miraculorum two anecdotes that seem to indicate if not approval, at least a willingness to admit of compromise. He tells how a certain knight once persuaded a demon to help him to gain honour in the tourney for as long as the knight should wish. The devil is foolish enough to agree and goes everywhere with his master assisting him; ab illa hora tantum gloriae in torneamentis militi accessit ut quos quod deiicere vellet deiiceret, quod capere caperet. When the knight has covered himself with riches and honour, he repudiates the devil, employs his gains for charitable purposes and is at length received into Heaven.[3] The second, even more questionable, anecdote tells how a knight on his way to a tourney stops to hear a Mass in honour of

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1. Frd., 473,6.

2. Quoted in translation by Leecy de la Marche, op.cit., pp. 394f.

3. Book X, chap. 11.

the Virgin. When he reaches the lists the contest is already half over. To his amazement he finds his praise in everyone's mouth, and a number of knights present themselves before him as his prisoners; the Virgin herself has taken his shape and jousted victoriously on his behalf, while he was occupied with his devotions. The Novice, who expresses astonishment that the Virgin should thus aid and abet her votary in a mortal sin, receives only a vague and evasive answer, and the final moral of the tale is reserved for the end of the chapter; Virgo Maria non solum suos dilectores ac dilectos ad vitam ducit aeternam, imo frequenter illos etiam ad honores provehit temporales.[1]

We have seen, too, how the bourgeois clamoured and strove to be admitted to the sport, in spite of the fact that their code of morals as a class, and their own better judgement, must have been opposed to it in every particular. Even the commonalty tried to emulate the tourney in various popular games, such as tilting at the quintain, running at the ring, or jousting on skates or on the water.[2]

Apart from class ambition and the natural desire to

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1. Book VII, chap. 38. The Novelle Marienritter (GA., No. LXXXIII) is another version of the same theme. Caesarius' tale, re-modelled by Kosegarten, was the source for Gottfried Keller's "Die Jungfrau als Ritter" (No. 3 of Sieben Legenden).

2. See Strutt, Sports and Pastimes of the People of England (revised edn. by J.C. Cox, London 1903), pp. 127f. and passim in the section on "Tournaments".

imitate their social betters, the non-knightly sections of the population were probably attracted in the first instance by the external glamour of the tournament, by the colour and show, the excitement and drama, and by the thrill of competitive prowess. Here was a chance for the citizen and the common man to see the nobility at close quarters in their most splendid array. When such a brilliant throng descended on a little town and took possession of it, setting up their quarters and parading through the streets, it would be a major event in the lives of the townsfolk. For the knights themselves the tournament obviously held a far profounder meaning than this. But it was so intricately bound up with their whole scale of values, it satisfied such a variety of needs on such different levels of thought and existence, and stirred up emotions of such a complex and at times apparently contradictory nature that from this distance in time and outlook it is very difficult to analyse with any accuracy exactly what this meaning may have been.

One aspect of the tournament that commended itself to the knights was precisely its exclusiveness. It was essentially a class phenomenon, and though the rest of society, in the rôle of onlooker, might alternate between disapproval and admiring envy, it remained above all the jealously guarded privilege of the aristocracy. The

clergy, who could only take part in flat defiance of the rules of the Church, were doubly disqualified. The bourgeois continued to be outsiders trying to force their way into the company of their social superiors, occasionally tolerated on account of their wealth, but for the most part compelled to fall back on organizing inferior rival shows for themselves. The common people were totally debarred, until, in the later Middle Ages, they were dragged in to make crude sport for the nobles in burlesque contests such as bucket and sack tourneys.[1] In this way the tournament emphasized the barriers that separated the knightly class from all other social groups, and heightened its sense of caste solidarity. In similar fashion it helped to stress the supra-national aspect of chivalry, and many of the big tournaments were completely international in character.[2]

Within the class it served as a test or proof of knightly virtue. This was something of fundamental importance in chivalry, where the knight had an enormous

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1. A. Schultz, Deutsches Leben im. 14. und 15. Jahrhundert (Vienna 1892), pp. 481 ff. Cf. also G.F. Jones, "The Tournaments of Tottenham and Lappenhausen" (PMLA., LXVI, 1951, No. 6, pp. 1123ff.).

2. In literature this could be carried to fantastic lengths of exaggeration. The tourney at Nantes in Konrad von Würzburg's poem is attended by the kings of England, France, Navarre, Scotland and Denmark, the Margraves of Meissen and Brandenburg, the Duke of Saxony, the Dukes of Lorraine and Brabant, and many others.

concern for the good opinion of his peers and a corresponding horror of falling short, especially in public, of the standards required by convention. For those who took their knighthood seriously, the whole of life was an education towards an ideal image of excellence, a ceaseless process of self-perfecting. Indispensable qualities like valour, courtesy, generosity, self-control, were cultivated with conscious diligence; and since, with the medieval habit of absolutism in moral thinking, these qualities were definable in fixed patterns or formulae, the degree in which they were possessed by any individual could be measured according to an accepted scale. It was not an inner personal idealism, but a social idealism, in which the various members of the group could keep check on each other's progress in knightliness. Hence it was necessary to display these basic virtues not merely before the eyes of society as a whole, but in mutual rivalry. There was no hesitation or half-heartedness, no fear of being thought priggish. Virtue had to be paraded and exposed to public inspection. Where honour was concerned, one could not rest on one's laurels - to stand still was to allow oneself to be overtaken. This restless obsession with the idea of honour overrode the Christian principle of the sanctity of life and the bourgeois principle of the sanctity of property. And the tourney, with its ideal opportunities for the pursuit of

honour, provided the knights with the fullest possible satisfaction for this need to convince themselves and their social equals that they came up to scratch.[1]

It must be noted that the tourney did not, for the most part, involve the loftiest and most spiritual of the chivalric virtues, those that earned for their possessor the favour of God as well as men - such things as integrity, steadfastness, Christian love and compassion. These qualities, by virtue of their inward and personal nature, were much less susceptible of definition and systematization. They could not be acquired at will, nor prescribed by convention, nor gauged by any clear-cut standard of measurement. The ethos of the tourney was on a slightly lower plane, and one that was in consequence within the grasp of a larger number, being concerned primarily with the more obvious aspects of honour, in particular with valour (manheit, prouesce), courtesy (suht, courtoisie) and liberality (milte, largesce).

Of these three, the most primitive, in a sense, was valour. Underlying the whole tournament craze was a positive

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1. Such passages as Frd., 201,9ff.: ich gedâht: 'hie ist manic biderb man / den ich wol aller êren gan,/ und doch der êren, daz dâ bî / mîn êre iht deste minner sî' betray very clearly this spirit of intense mutual emulation.

delight in the clash of arms, a feeling that warfare was the natural language of manhood. Barbarianism, after all, lay sufficiently close beneath the surface of chivalry to keep the knights perpetually spoiling for a fight. This aggressiveness could vent itself in animal high spirits - hôher muot in its most elementary form, as harmless and spontaneous as that of small boys pummelling each other on the school playground; when hostile passions were roused, it could also turn into the most brutal savagery. Their inborn pugnacity refused to be entirely tamed, but it was somewhat curbed and refined by being harnessed to the cause of honour - mit schilde und mit sper / ... riters prîs bejagen, as Ulrich puts it.[1] The classic statement of this attitude is put by Hartmann von Aue into the mouth of Kalogreant:-

> Ich heize ein riter und hân den sin,
> daz ich suochende rîte
> einen man, der mit mir strîte,
> der gewâfent sî als ich.
> daz prüevet in und sleht er mich:
> gesige ich aber im an,
> sô hât man mich vür einen man,
> und wirde werder danne ich sî.[2]

In accordance with this principle the knights continued to challenge each other to combat on every occasion; if the

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1. Erd., 55,22ff.

2. Iwein, I, 530ff.

occasion was of a festive or ceremonial character, when a large company of knights was assembled, when a general mood of exhilaration was abroad, and when an audience was looking on, the fighting impulse was stimulated to the utmost, and the introduction of the element of honour merely lent a rather more civilized tone to the proceedings. When Brunhild is received by Kriemhild at Worms, and again when Kriemhild in her turn is received by Etzel at Tulne, impromptu tilting breaks out as soon as the two escorts meet.[1] For days before the set tourney at Friesach is finally organized, casual jousting goes on all over the field, in which the knights pit their strength and skill against each other, ostensibly, we are told, for love, for gain, for honour, for the sake of practice ("durch lernen") as well as durch hôhen muot.[2] But the ardent anticipation of the day's exploits that makes Ulrich and his companions lie all night eager as falcons for the fray[3] seems to strike deeper than even the service of love or the desire for profit. It is interesting to note that nowhere in Frauendienst is there a single example of an actual Frauenturnier. The knights

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1. Nibelungenlied, stanzas 584, 596 and 1353-1355.
2. Frd., 70,27ff.
3. Frd., 69,2f.: die naht wir lâgen in der gir:/ wir gerten als diu vederspil.

profess to fight for the honour of their lady, but the atmosphere during the contest is wholeheartedly masculine. The warrior streak in chivalry, that persists side by side with courtly elegance, finds in the tournament its fullest satisfaction. Something of this fire and enthusiasm kindles in the poets themselves as they write of the hard blows given and received, the dust and trampling, the courage and danger. Both in Germany and France descriptions of the tourney frequently revert to the old warlike language that has its roots in the pre-chivalric age; many passages in the Tournoi de Chauvency for instance, are strongly reminiscent of the battle scenes in the chansons de geste,[1] and in German tournament literature one constantly finds phrases that recall the heroic epic style.[2]

Yet although manheit was inseparably linked with the idea of êre, it was not êre in any genuinely inward or moral sense of the word. The tourney might be "honourable" in

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1. E.g. the words of the heralds to the ladies, 543ff.: '... si se font cil bacheler / Pour vous les iex estanceler,/ Et voler fors de lors cervieus', or lines 3759ff.

2. E.g. mit siner ellenthafter hant (Frd., 91,7), der stolze degen wert (Parz. VII, 1327), sîn manlich ellen (Parz., VII, 1442), mit liehten ringen (Turn. v.Nantheis, 429), mit heldes hant in liehter wât (Winli, v.inf.), and such words as stapfen, balt, melm, tuht.

that it was a test of courage and endurance, of indifference to pain or discomfort, of willingness to face hazards and ability to calculate risks swiftly and accurately - all qualities held in esteem in warrior societies - but only in a very limited degree could valour by itself serve the cause of ethical honour. The emphasis on valour tended rather to foster that more primitive conception of military glory which sets greater store on winning than on obeying any code of fighting ethics. All the way through the chivalric period these two conflicting viewpoints can be observed, with now one now the other predominant. In the long historical introduction to Moriz von Craûn ritterschaft and êre are frankly identified with national conquest and domination rather than moral nobility. The same thing also coloured the outlook of individuals. For Kalogreant, as we have seen, the touchstone of fame is success. At Friesach, says Ulrich, the victor is acclaimed, the vanquished leit von spotten ungemach.[1] Since material loss or gain was also at stake, it is not surprising that the knights frequently stooped to all kinds of guile in their efforts to win the victory or avoid defeat. The Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal tells of many such ruses. The poet relates, for example, how Henry the Young King, unable to

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1. Frd., 70,24.

beat the Count of Flanders in open combat, has recourse to a trick suggested by the Marshal himself, and thereafter used regularly by the Young King with signal success. He pretends not to be taking part in the engagement, then suddenly charges when the opposing side is not expecting it and thus secures a rich harvest of prisoners and booty.[1] The Count of Flanders too had his own favourite stratagem. He would stand aloof from the fighting till his opponents were wearied, then - quant il veeit ses avantages,/ comme cil qui ert proz e sages - he would charge their ranks victoriously.[2]

In their anxiety to win, even the highest nobles might be guilty of the most unchivalrous conduct. At the Little War of Châlons the Count of Châlons gripped Prince Edward round the waist and tried to pull him out of the saddle by main force.[3] Unmounted retainers - either squires or men of non-knightly rank - armed with sticks and clubs were

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1. Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, 8742ff.

2. Ibid., 8725ff.

3. Cf. the Tournoi de Chauvency, 3767ff.: Aprés les cous, as bras s'enbrassent,/ Parmi les hiaumes s'entrelassent,/ Tirent et saichent et enversent,/ Si que bien pou qu'il ne reversent, and Le Châtelain de Coucy, 3292f.: Escuiier a son hateriel / Pour lui sakier jus, se pendoient.

also brought into play in increasing numbers. Their task was to knock an adversary from his horse with their clubs, or alternatively to set on his horse in a body and drive it with blows from the arena or into their own "base", so that he might be acquired as a prisoner.[1] If necessary they could also surround their own master and prevent any antagonist from getting within attacking range. These kipper as they were called in Germany figure in nearly all the later medieval representations of the tournament, and though they were strongly disapproved of by the purists it was found impossible to suppress them.[2] From time to time they even make their appearance in the romances. As a squire, the hero of Sone de Nansay is armed with a wooden club, with which he defends his lord by hitting his opponents over the head.[3] Wolfram, with his unsparing truthfulness

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1. Cf. Engelhard (ed. M. Haupt, Leipzig 1890), 2762ff.: Den werden künic von Riuzen / hast er gevangen in den zoum / und wolte in under einen boum / ziehen balde in sînen fride, and again 2820ff.: Sîn knabe des bereite wart / daz er niht müezic ouch beleip, / daz ros er balde hin nâch treip / da der ritter ûfe saz,/ mit einem knüttel, wizzet daz./ er wart ân aller slahte sûm / geiuort in Engelhartes rûm.

2. For the "kipper", see Niedner, op.cit., pp. 28 and 68f.

3. Sone de Nansay 503ff.: Montés fu sur .i. grant destrier,/ I. baston tint de cornillier and 512ff.: Sones du baston qu'il tenoit / L'a tel ou hïaume feru / Que tout enviers l'a abatu.

in realistic detail, notes that even in the high and noble tournament at Kanvoleiz the knights have their 'brât' gemûtet ... mit kiulen.[1]

The cult of manheit tends on the whole to point the way backward to barbarism rather than forward to a more exalted conception of honour. A more effectively civilising influence was supplied by the ideals of courtesy and breeding (zuht). Yet, although these ideals undoubtedly helped to counteract the rougher and more turbulent aspects of chivalry, they also created fresh problems and conflicts of their own. For the notion of courtesy was inevitably inspired by many different motives at very varying levels of moral sentiment. For the élite few it was the product and expression of genuine gentleness of temper, delicacy and insight, consideration for the claims of others and scorn for what was crude and self-assertive. For others it was little more than a mechanical conforming to the etiquette of the day. For others, again, it sprang from the passion for discovering a style for everything - a craving for form in all departments of life. This "Wille zur Form" has been analysed in detail by K.J. Obenauer in his work Die Problematik des ästhetischen Menschen in der deutschen Literatur.[2] He writes:-

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1. Parzival II, 490f.
2. Published Munich 1933.

> (Diese Lebensform) ... grenzt das Überschüssige, Elementare, urwüchsig Triebhafte durch Spielgesetze, Anstandsregel und schöne Gebärde aufs strengste ein. Die Anmut des Sprechens, die Gewandtheit des Sichzurschaustellens: all dies ist nicht nur zum Lebensgenuss da; es hat zugleich in dieser Bändigung wilder Kräfte positive, bildnerische Aufgaben. Gleichviel wie sehr auch hier nur ein dichterischer Traum gespielt wird, der über die Nachtseiten dieser herrschsüchtigen Gewalten einen Schleier von köstlicher Buntheit breitet; da, wo man das ritterliche Ideal in diesem hohen verpflichtenden Sinne nimmt, arbeitet es fraglos an der "inneren Form" des Menschen, indem es ursprüngliche Roheit und brutale Kraft in weltmännische Humanität umbildet.[1]

This refining influence made itself felt in the sphere of warfare and knightly sport as in all other branches of human activity. So the mock combat becomes a social ritual, closely regulated in form and stylised in technique. Certain things come to be regarded as unworthy of a gentleman - the ignoring of the principle of "one against one",[2] the striking of an adversary in some unprotected part,[3] the wanton injuring of the horses,[4] ungenerous dealing

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1. op.cit., p. 106.

2. Erd., 285,31f.: Wil ofte ir dri dâ gegen mir riten:/ daz waer durch zuht baz vermiten.

3. Iwein 7139ff.: sine geruochten des nie,/ daz si niderhalp der knie / deheiner slege taeten war,/ dâ si der schilte wären bar.

4. Iwein 7116ff.: heten si dâ gevohten / ze rosse mitten swerten,/ des si niene gerten,/ daz waere der armen rosse tôt:/ von diu was in beiden nôt,/ daz si die dörperheit vermiten / und daz si ze vuoze striten.

with a defeated opponent,[1] and so on. Undue violence, personal ill-will and treachery in any form are condemned as dishonourable,[2] and safeguards are introduced to restrict them to a minimum. The tournament was finally buttressed at every point by outward ceremony; merit was publicly acclaimed and misdemeanour publicly disgraced; the actual contest was preceded and followed by little interchanges of courtesy, formalities of greeting and leave-taking, tributes of praise and expressions of regret, according to

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1. Cf. Kalogreant's discomfiture at the hands of the Black Knight, Iwein 747ff.: 'Er nam mîn ros und liez mich ligen ... / doch enmuot mich niht sô sêre,/ ern bôt mir nie die êre,/ daz er mich wolde ane gesehen'.

2. Cf. the episode of Hadmâr von Kîenringen, Frd., 269, 17ff.: 'Ich gesach sô grôze unfuoge nie / bî mînen ziten, daz ist wâr,/ als ei begât her Hademâr'.

circumstances, each with its appropriate acknowledgement;[1] in the case of set tourneys on the grand scale, the fighting was offset by peaceful diversions before and after the event, by exchanges of hospitality, friendly social intercourse, music, dancing and other relaxations.

All this undoubtedly did much to soften the inherent brutality of the tournament. From a mere rough-and-tumble it became a potential instrument of knightly discipline,

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1. Frauendienst contains countless examples of zuht in connexion with the tourney. For instance, during Ulrich's Venusfahrt, he is greeted by a group of knights at Friesach: si riten gegen mir ûz der stat,/ als si ir grôziu zuht des bat./ Ir gruoz und ouch daz danken min / sach man mit zuht gemenget sin .../ si vrâgten mich vil zühteclich,/ ob ich des tages welde stechen dâ (205,27 - 206,1). Ulrich pays tribute to the achievements of his opponents: durch zuht ich gib des schuldic mich,/ es tet dâ maniger baz denn ich (76,23f.). When he learns that one of his antagonists has been injured, he expresses polite regret: Ich sprach: 'nu wizzet, schoeniu meit,/ es ist mir hertzenlichen leit' (487,19f.). A particularly good instance of zuht in action is provided by the episode of Zacheus von Himelberg, who commits a breach of etiquette by appearing in the lists disguised as a monk. Ulrich in his rôle of Lady Venus, refuses to do combat with a monk: sô wolde ouch dâ diu küneginn / mit im niht rittersch efte pflegen;/ des bet si sich durch zuht bewegen (200,2ff.). The challenge is repeated and again declined: Min bote mit gühten im daz seit,/ die wile er an fuorte münches kleit,/ daz ich mit im dâ staeche niht (204,9ff.). The other knights intercede for him: vrowe, ir gült uns alle gewern,/ des wir mit gühten an iuch gern,/ daz ir mit disem münche hie / ein sper verstechet (204,21ff.). Ulrich finally consents: sît ir's mit gühten gert,/ sô sol er sin durch iuch gewert (204,29ff.). Zacheus pays for his lack of courtly breeding by being unhorsed and defeated, but as he breaks his lance in correct style, Ulrich courteously gives him the ring he has earned as prize like all the rest.

and the polish and decorum were more than just a façade. But there are real dangers in imposing on something essentially primitive a covering layer of social and moral refinement which only corresponds to an authentic moral feeling in those cases where, to use Obenauer's words, "man das ritterliche Ideal in diesem hohen verpflichtenden Sinne nimmt". The result is that the standards are pitched too high for the common run of humanity, and that rules which should spring spontaneously from personal conviction or at least evoke a response of personal assent are dictated from above by a select group, and accepted by society as a whole in a largely theoretical fashion. Inevitably such rules are in actual practice often broken or ignored. They tend to remain for the majority permanently out of reach, a noble dream relegated to the dream-world, while real life goes on its own way. But when ideals are consistently disregarded they become in themselves debased in value; by their very failure to command respect and obedience they forfeit something of their intrinsic virtue. And more than once we have seen how in the tournament the ideals of chivalry were helpless in face of the natural impulses of pride, envy, greed, vindictiveness, or simply the excitement of battle.

Again, when confronted by a code of combat too lofty

for everyday life, men may attempt to salve their conscience and preserve their good reputation in society by obeying the letter of the law while evading the spirit of it. The evasion may be a conscious paltering with truth, or an unconscious self-delusion, but in either case the moral vision is obscured, so that the shadow and the substance of excellence cease to be distinguished. More, this persistent quibbling with ideals eventually produces a secret contempt for the ideals themselves, which thus allow themselves to be, as it were, cheated and duped. This danger was particularly acute for the knight, to whom honour among his peers was of supreme account, and on whom in consequence the pressure of public opinion acted as a powerful moral incentive. But public opinion has no means of penetrating below the external appearance to the truth within - it can only check what lies on the surface. And the average man, caught up in this tension between, on one hand, the impossibility of actually possessing the virtues of chivalry, and on the other, the absolute necessity of appearing to do so in the eyes of the world, tended to develop a habit of mind which cultivated the outward requirements of good breeding at the expense of the inner reality. In other words, a double standard of manners tends to emerge, one for public display and the other for

less formal occasions. Even Ulrich, for all his devotion to chivalric ideals, pays far more elaborate attention to the rules of courtesy during the Venusfahrt, where he is out to create a personal impression, than, for example, during the tournament at Friesach. Frequently the cleavage between theory and practice in matters of courtesy was even more open and unashamed. On one occasion, for example, five knights set on Guillaume le Maréchal simultaneously and turned his helmet back to front, so that he had to break the fastening with his fingers, hurting them grievously in the process;[1] another time the Marshal himself sat on a prisoner to keep him from running away;[2] again, when the Marshal once offered a knight a choice of two horses, the latter did not hesitate to pick the better one.[3] Yet these same people, when society was looking on, would meticulously observe the convenances, strike attitudes of modesty and generosity, perform ceremonious acts of politeness, and generally enhance their reputation for correct behaviour.

In the instances just quoted, the same individual still

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1. Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, 1451ff.
2. Ibid., 11231.
3. Ibid., 6036ff.

has both levels of courtesy at his command and can employ either at will. But appearances, cultivated for their own sake or as a substitute for reality, tend to run to seed and eventually lose touch with the spirit they were originally intended to reflect. That is, the gulf between what men are and what they pretend to be widens until the two can no longer be brought into relation with each other. The form, divorced from its inner substance, becomes an empty and artificial show; the spirit, deprived of its outward means of expression, shrivels and decays. This happened with the tournament in the later Middle Ages, especially perhaps in Germany, and accounts for the paradoxical situation that, at a time when surface elegance and refinement were being carried almost to excess, the underlying temper was becoming increasingly degenerate. These twin tendencies, pushed to their extreme point of development, finally culminated in such episodes as the state tourney at Nuremberg in 1491, in the presence of the Emperor Maximilian, which combined unbelievable splendour and ceremony with scenes of the coarsest and most brutal horseplay, without any of the spectators being apparently aware of any inconsistency.[1]

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1. Schultz, Deutsches Leben im XIV. und XV. Jahrhundert, pp. 481f.

Zuht was the principle of honour applied to social intercourse, as manheit was the same principle applied to warfare; similarly, the sentiment of honour in the sphere of material possessions produced the ideal of milte, one of the most characteristic and significant virtues in the code of knightly ethics.[1]

All aristocracies, whether religious or secular, set great store by the accumulation and display of objects of material value, and it was a symptom of the emergence of the feudal and chivalric aristocracy that articles of costliness, rarity, richness or beauty, which had previously in the main been consecrated to the greater glory of God and the Church, now took on an increasingly worldly character. Costume became more sumptuous, and more subject to changing fashion, personal adornments more elaborate, domestic furnishings more luxurious, equipment for warfare and noble pastimes more highly developed. Knightly society was fascinated by precious metals, jewels and rich stuffs, by such things as texture, lustre, polish, ornament, and all the other achievements of craftsmanship, and they sought to surround themselves with everything that displayed these qualities.

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1. A very useful article on this subject by M.F. Whitney, entitled "Queen of Medieval Virtues: Largesse" is published in Vassar Medieval Studies (New Haven 1923, pp. 183ff.).

But they were not esteemed for their own sake, nor even merely as a delight to the eye, affording a purely aesthetic satisfaction - though this factor certainly had a share in it.[1] Like everything else, material possessions were chiefly of value as a means to an end; the maintaining and increasing of honour and good repute in the eyes of the world. They were the outward signs of the wealth without which the knightly state could not be upheld, as indispensable to it as the outward signs of courage or courtesy.

In its most primitive and again in its decadent form this craving expressed itself in simple ostentation, a rather childish passion for novelty and a desire to dazzle and overwhelm by quantity as much as by quality. Costume, for instance, in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, and again at the close of the Middle Ages, had a kind of parvenu showiness about it which contrasts strongly with the well-bred restraint of thirteenth-century fashions. This instinctive deference to riches is particularly clearly illustrated in the Pèlerinage Charlemagne.[2] Charles is so perturbed by the thought that there may be in

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1. This "Schönheitsbedürfnis" in chivalric society is treated in detail by Obenauer, op.cit. passim.

2. Ed. E. Koschwitz (Leipzig 1925).

the world another king, plus riches d'avoir et d'or et de deniers, that he sets out at once for Constantinople to put the matter to the test. The marvellous riches of the Byzantine court so shake the confidence and self-esteem of the Franks that their morale has to be bolstered up with gabs at the expense of their host and his dignity. However, when a series of ad hoc miracles, and above all the sight of Charles' greater stature and bigger crown restore their sense of superiority they return home in high good humour.

In the earlier courtly romances the same attitude of mind can be observed. There is a positive revelling in gorgeousness - eccentric design and overloaded ornament, furs piled on furs and silks on silks, marble and ivory painted, plated with gold or studded with gems, costly toys scattering music or perfume, every lily gilded and re-gilded, in a manner which reminds one of Victorian opulence at its most luscious.[1] A new intoxicating vision of magnificence had opened up before the eyes of the nobles and taken their

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1. We have, for example, in the Roman de Thèbes the description of the tent (2921ff. and 3979ff.) and of the chariot of Amphiaraus (4713ff.); in the Roman de Troie the description of the nuptial chamber of Paris and Helen (14631ff.); from Veldeke's Eneide the description of the tombs of Pallas (8264ff.) and Camilla (9413ff.); from the Tristan of Thomas (ed. J. Bédier, SATF., Paris 1902) the account of the Salle des Images (Vol. I, pp. 309ff.).

senses captive. But eventually, as the first thrill began to wear off and new standards of taste began to gain currency, these static exhibitions of personal wealth gradually lost something of their honorific character. Though the aspirant after honour still had to create the impression that he was the possessor of inexhaustible riches, he had to achieve this by flinging them away on others no less than himself. In other words, social etiquette required that the medieval gentleman should both keep his cakes in the shop window and give them away as well, and the impoverishment of the lesser nobility from the thirteenth century onwards was in a large measure due to this double strain on their material resources. Over and over again it is emphasized by courtly writers that thriftiness is incompatible with honour, that it is a virtue for rustics and shopkeepers but not for men of breeding.[1] Ulrich asserts that even a man of proved valour is held in general

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1. Fruote and Wate in Kudrun (ed. Martin, 2nd edn., Halle 1902), though disguised as merchants, refuse to adopt the commercial outlook and prefer to give their wares away rather than sell them: Swer aber âne koufes ir gâbe ihtes gerte,/ sie wâren in den willen, daz man ir manegen gâtlîche werte (325,3f.), and the poet adds by way of explanation: sie wurben vaste umb êre (326,4).

contempt swanne er vor êren spart daz guot,[1] and he is grieved to think that an otherwise worthy knight can be so foolish as thus to "waste" his other noble qualities.

It is this deep-seated conviction that money exists to be squandered rather than hoarded which underlies the principle of "conspicuous consumption" already mentioned,[2] and which makes such expressions as dœmære, meschef, schade, key words in the chivalric vocabulary. Not every form of schade was, of course, honourable. Reckless prodigality was held to be as blameworthy as miserliness.[3] Expenditure in an unworthy cause degraded instead of ennobling.[4] Above all, public opinion demanded that openhandedness should be

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1. Frd., 471,8: the whole passage describing the knight in question, von Lichtenstein her Heinrich, amplifies this theme through four stanzas.

2. See above, p. 256 .

3. Cf. Winsbeke 30,5ff: Ob dir daz guot ze nâhen gât,/ und ob duz âne tugent vertuost,/ diu beidiu machent missetât, and Hartmann von Aue, Der Arme Heinrich (ed. Bostock, Oxford 1947) 66f.: (er was) der milte ein glîchiu wâge:/ im enmart über noch gebrast.

4. So venal love is described in Moriz von Craûn 363 as a schade ûf êre.

free from any taint of utilitarianism or the pursuit of material ends. We shall later have occasion to see that, as far as we can guess, a rather larger element of self-interest entered into the practice of *milte* than appears on the surface, but, theoretically at least, in the incessant conflict between *cuot* and *êre*, the *utile* and the *honestum*, it was the *honestum* whose claims were everywhere acknowledged to be paramount. This was an essentially irrational and idealistic attitude to material possessions, which expressed itself in actions that now seem to us needlessly extravagant gestures. It must not, however, be forgotten that for the Middle Ages, the gesture, the product of spirit and form working together in perfect harmony, held depths of meaning which the modern mind cannot fully comprehend.

The simplest method of displaying *milte* was the gift. This, by definition, did not "pay" in a material sense, and could bring in no remuneration save in the sphere of honour. The gift was in fact the principle of *êre umbe cuot* reduced to its most elementary form. Hence the constant association of the words "*doner*" and "*despendre*" in French courtly literature.[1] "*Despendre*", used in an

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1. Chrétien uses the expression frequently, e.g. *Erec* 2269f.: *De doner e de despandre / Fu parens le roi Alixandre*, and *Cliges* 159f.: *Et si li enorte e comande / Que largement doint e despande*. Cf. also the *Historie de Guillaume le Maréchal* 1896ff.: *Et il n'ert pas avérs ne chiches / De despendre ce ku'il avoit ... / Tant montenloie sa proesce / E sa bonté e sa largesce ...*

absolute sense, and the adjective "*despendant*" (especially in conjunction with "*large(s)*" come to acquire an almost technical meaning in the vocabulary of chivalry.[1]

This kind of giving had little in common with the idea of royal bounty in the old heroic society, where the ruler was the *béaggifa*, the *goldgifa*, whose gifts established a strong bond of honour between himself and his followers.[2] Nor has it much in common with the feudal conception of munificence as part of a contract, as payment for military and other service,[3] and as a means of purchasing adherents to one's cause. In its purest form chivalric largesse was

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1. E.g. Marie de France, *Chaitivel* 38: *Large, curteis e despendant*; other examples are given under "*Despendant*" in Tobler-Lommatsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*.

2. Cf. the speech of Wiglaf to the retainers in *Beowulf* 3033ff.

3. Cf. the words of Guillaume in the *Couronnement Louis* (ed. Langlois, SATF., Paris 1888) 2254ff.: *Faites voz ames et voz barons mander,/ Et tuit i viegnent li povre bacheler,/ A clos chevals, a destriers desferrez,/ A guarnemenz desroz et despanez;/ Tuit cil qui servent as povres seignorez / Viegnent a mei: ge lor dorrai assez / Or et argent et deniers monoez,/ Destriers d'Espaigne et granz muls sejornez,/ Que i'amenai de Rome la cité:/ Et en Espaigne en ai tant conquesté / Que ge ne sai ou le disme poser./ Ja nuls frans om ne m'en tendra aver / Que toz nes doinge et ancor plus assez.*

not concerned with either the material welfare or the lawful claims or the personal deserts of the recipient. Indeed, generosity became the more meritorious when bestowed on the undeserving. "Ce n'est pas seulement aux bons qu'il faut donner, pour la valeur qui est en eux, mais aussi aux mauvais, pour la valeur qui est de donner."[1] It is like a distorted echo of the Gospel injunction to give freely and without distinction of persons, following the example of God, Who "maketh His sun to rise on the evil and the good and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust", and Who "is kind to the unthankful and evil".

Indiscriminate openhandedness of this type was an essential feature of the chivalric outlook. The gifts might take the form of money, jewels or other articles of price, fighting gear or clothing. This last was apparently felt to be particularly suitable for the purpose. Clothes were not, as nowadays, regarded primarily as personal property, intended for personal use and adornment, but had also a symbolical value as recognized tokens of wealth, rank, mental poise, decorum and social acceptability in

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1. Livre de Lancelot du Lac (quoted by H. Dupin, La Courtoisie au moyen âge, Paris 1931, p. 68).

general.[1] Thus Walther von der Vogelweide, painting an ideal picture of womanhood, emphasises that his *edeliu schoene frowe reine* must be *wol gekleidet und wol gebunden*.[2] Conversely, when Iwein is denounced before the assembled company of Arthur's court, and loses caste, his fall from grace is symbolized not only inwardly, by the loss of reason, but outwardly, by a state of nakedness, so that he runs wild *nacket beider,/ der sinne und der cleider*.[3]

So a gift of wearing apparel, which nowadays, especially in the case of cast-off garments, has something vaguely humiliating about it, was in chivalric society, with its curiously non-possessive, non-individualistic attitude to dress, an action that enhanced instead of lowering prestige on both sides. For the recipient it was a kind of recognition and confirmation of his social worth, for the donor it was a proof of willingness to carry out the

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1. It has often been remarked that the Middle Ages differed from the ancient world in regarding physical beauty as heightened rather than obscured by splendid dress, like a jewel which requires a worthy setting to be displayed to best advantage. Hence the interminable descriptions of costume, especially feminine costume, in the romances.

2. Walther, *Gedichte* 46,10f.

3. *Iwein* 3359f.

obligations of knightly honour.[1] When, as often happened, the donor stripped off the garment from his own person and gave it away on the spot, the dramatic nature of the gesture made it doubly honorific. The Church might proclaim the celestial rewards that attended secret almsgiving and hold up before the knights the pattern of St. Martin, who divided his cloak with a beggar for the love of God alone, but this preaching fell for the most part on ears in which the praise of men sounded more sweetly than any spiritual appeal. It was not the desire to emulate St. Martin that earned for Henry II the nickname of Curtmantel, or that inspired feats of liberality such as those described by the poet of the Nibelungenlied:-

1370,3 Swes ieman an si gerte daz gâben si bereit;
des gestuont dâ vil der degene von milte blôs âne kleit.

- or the poet of Kudrun:-

1676,4 Er und sîne degene gestuonden kleider blôs in kurzen stunden.

The universal admiration excited by this attitude is embodied in stories which were in circulation throughout the whole chivalric world as proverbial instances of magnificence.

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1. This applies chiefly to gifts of clothing between persons of knightly rank. Gifts to minstrels and other people of inferior social status must have savoured sufficiently of patronage and "charity" to have inspired the well-known protests of Walther (Gedichte 63,3: Getragene wât ich nie genam) and Der von Bûwenburc (Von der Hagen's Minnesänger, Leipzig 1838, 2, 121, VI, 3: Swer getragener kleider gert / der ist niht minnesanges wert).

One such anecdote, which seems to have caught the imagination of the time strongly and which is told of various people of many different nationalities, relates how a group of knights sent as envoys to a foreign court left lying on the floor, for any to pick up, the rich mantles on which they had been sitting, saying that in their country it was not the custom for a man to carry his stool about with him.[1] Where lavishness on the grand scale was aimed at, isolated gestures such as this were not adequate and other methods had to be devised. One way, for instance, was to have vast quantities of clothing fetched out of store and strewn about at random for any who would like to take; this is done by King Arthur at the coronation of Erec:-

6686 Li mantel furent estandu
A bandon par totes les sales;
Tuit furent gitié fors des males,
S'an prist qui vost sanz contredit.[2]

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1. See G. Paris, "Sur un épisode d'Aimeri de Narbonne" (Romania IX, 1880, pp. 515ff.). There is a peculiar fascination about the idea of absolute wealth combined with absolute indifference to material possessions. The spectacle of things beyond the means of ordinary men to enjoy being tossed away carelessly as though they were of no account stirs the popular imagination and creates legends of lasting appeal. To the man in the street, Sir Walter Raleigh remains above all the man who threw his fine cloak in the mud.

2. It is interesting and perhaps significant that the whole episode is omitted from Hartmann's version of the romance.

On the same occasion (6690ff.) we read that the king distributed spectacular largesse of another kind, thirty bushels of coins being piled up on a carpet for all who wished to help themselves.[1] That this kind of thing was not confined to the realm of fiction is proved by the historical records of the time. When Thomas Becket was sent as ambassador to negotiate with the French king for the marriage of his daughter Marguerite to Henry the Young King, he took with him a magnificent retinue, including stores of clothing, furs, plate, horses, and the like, all of which he distributed to knights and poor scholars in France, thereby increasing both his own reputation and that of his master:- omnia sua vasa aurea et argentea donavit, omnia mutatoria vestimentorum; illi pallium; illi canam griseam; illi pelliciam; illi palefridum; illi dextrarium; quid plura? supra omnem hominem suam gratiam adeptus est.[2] Here the urge to create an impression was harnessed to the

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1. In Flamenca there is another excellent example of this mentality. At the wedding of Archimbaud and Flamenca the new bridegroom deliberately sets himself to eclipse the festivities previously arranged by his father-in-law: Car faire la (= la cort) vol ricamen,/ Que ja sol non sia parlat / D'aiso qu a l'autra fon donat (364ff.). Following the counsel: Quit quer .c. sols dona .x. marcs,/ Qui t'en quer .v. dona l'en .x.,/ Aisi poiras montar en pres (132ff.), he throws money about in such a fashion that all the guests go away singing his praises (988ff.).

2. W. Fitzstephen, Vita sancti Thomae (Migne, Patrologia latina CXC) col. 122.

interests of the State. It could also be made to serve private interest. Boniface of Tuscany, on his way to marry Beatrix, daughter of the Duke of Lower Lorraine in 1045, is said to have had his horse fitted with shoes of precious metal, carefully arranged in such a way that they would be cast along the road and picked up by the natives as tangible proof of his wealth (testans quod dives hic esset).[1] Such ostentation may strike the modern observer as crude or naive or in doubtful taste, but at least it was inspired by a rational motive. When the desire to stage a sensation became an end in itself, operating blindly, as it were, in a vacuum, men tended to lose all sense of proportion and plunged into crazy excesses of fole largesce, like that Bertrans Raiembaus, of whom it is related that, at an insania festa (we are not told of what kind) at Beaucaire in 1174, he had the ground ploughed up by twelve yoke of oxen and sown with deniers to the value of thirty thousand solidi, which the assembled company were then invited to search for.[2]

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1. Vita Mathildis (MGH.SS.XII, pp. 367f.) quoted by G. Paris in the article already mentioned (Romania IX, p. 540). It is interesting that precisely the same gesture is ascribed by the author of Dugus Horant, the Yiddish version of the Kudrun epic, to Horant and his companions in the bridal quest (see the article by L. Forster in German Life and Letters, XI, 4, 1958, pp. 276ff.).

2. Ex Chronico Gaufridi Vosiensis (Bouquet, op.cit., XII, p. 444).

It is at least possible that the *festa* in question was a tournament, and certainly, though a member of the courtly society had to be *larges donère et biaus despendère*[1] on every occasion, the tournament offered an ideal setting for the practice of largesse.[2] Hence the constant association of *tornoier* with such words as *despendre* or *doner*, as for example in Marie de France's *Milun* 321: *La despendi e turneia*, and *Laostic* 21f.: *Mult turneiot e despendeit / E bien donot ceo qu'il aveit*, or the *Tournoi de Chauvency* 2617f.: *Que sans doner ni vaut tornois / La montance de deus tornois*.[3] Many examples of tournament largesse have already been cited as showing the ruinously expensive nature of the pursuit. One further instance may therefore suffice. Olivier de la Marche, in his account of the "Pas de la Dame

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1. Mousket, *op.cit.*, 28759f.

2. Cf. *Galeran de Bretagne*, where the author follows up his account of a tremendous display of largesse after a tournament by remarking: *telz est de tournoy la coustume* (6235).

3. As part of the technical jargon of chivalry this phrase seems to be characteristic of French rather than German literature, e.g. Mousket, *op.cit.*, 28747f.: *Par toutes tières tournoia / Et despendi et donneia*. The fact that it occurs in *Moriz von Craûn* 275f.: *turnieren unde geben / was in allez sîn leben* (Roethe's emendation of 275 to *turnei nemen unde geben* is unnecessary) is a further indication of the closeness of the German poet's debt to his French original.

Sauvaige" at Ghent in 1469[1] relates how the knight undertaking the emprise appears for each combat in fresh armour and trappings, including superb caparisons for his horses, all of which, day by day, are seized upon and shared out among the squires and common people:- et tantost les vallets et la commune de la compaignie coururent aux trois houssures de velours, les prinrent et les deschirèrent et en prinst chascun sa pièche, comme ilz avoient fait le premier jour.

This episode is revealing because it shows largesse passing from the realm of conspicuous consumption into that of conspicuous waste, the vertuon which is one of the key words of Moriz von Craûn. Lavishness driven by competitive frenzy beyond the limits of sense and moderation into a vicious spiral of extravagance was almost bound to end in these orgies of wastefulness, which became so much a normal feature of chivalric high life that they even tended to follow certain recognised patterns. One favourite method of incurring needless expense was the cooking of food for vast numbers of persons on absurdly costly (and unsuitable)

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1. Traités du Duel Judiciaire, Relations de Pas d'Amors et Tournois (ed. B. Prost, Paris 1872), pp. 92f.

fuel such as nuts[1] or candles;[2] candles were indeed particularly effective instruments of conspicuous waste, combining expensiveness, elegance, glitter and wasteful consumption to a quite exceptional degree, and they figure in many descriptions of tournaments and other festivities, e.g. the Roman de l'Escoufle:-[3]

7762 Li cuens, por la feste essaucier
Fist en la sale grant feu faire:
Des cierges et du luminaire
Sambloit que la maison arsist.

- or Guillaume de Dole:-

2327 Quant vint qu'il covint alumer,
Lors sambla qu'en la vile arsist
Li ostex ou Guillames sist ...
Que la clarté qui i fu mise
S'en ist hors par tantes fenestres
Que li granz marchiez et li estres
En estoit toz enluminez.[4]

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1. The story of the nuts is another of those floating legends of international chivalry which came to be attached to various historical or fictitious personages (see the article already mentioned by G. Paris, Romania IX, pp.522ff.) The - to the knights doubtless very gratifying - gulf between themselves and the rest of the world in this matter could hardly be better summed up than in the words, quoted by Paris, of the Lombard king when confronted with the spectacle of nuts used as wholesale cooking fuel: 'Merveille soi ou teus avoirs fu pris./ Con despendoient cil prince et cil marchis;/ En son corage les tient pour fous et bris,/ Car il n'a pas tel despense apris.'

2. The account of the festivities at Beaucaire in 1174 (Chronicon Gaufredi Vosiensis, loc.cit.) relates that Guillelmus Gros de Martello qui trecentos milites secum habebat ... omnes cibos de coquina cum candelis de cera et taeda coxisse refertur.

3. Ed. H. Michelant-P.Meyer (SATF., Paris 1894).

4. Similar passages occur in Hartmann's Erec, 2374ff., Parzival II, 718ff., and Frd. 299,5ff.

However candles, though wasteful, were not wholly futile, since they did at least give light or heat. Absolute futility, the destruction of objects of material or prestige value for no other reason than to demonstrate that they were expendable, seems fortunately to have been comparatively rare; when it did occur, it led to gestures which strike the modern observer as the actions of a maniac, like the incident of Raimundus de Ventoul who, causa jactantiae, burnt thirty horses before the eyes of his fellow-knights at Beaucaire.[1]

The tournament, whose character was in its very essence destructive, gave unparalleled scope for exhibitions of conspicuous waste. The most striking example of this was perhaps the wholesale breaking of lances - so indispensable a feature of the joust that spar vertuon or verstechen, or the metaphorical den walt swenden came to be synonymous with jousting as a whole. Winsbeke advises his "son": siz ebene. swende sô den walt / als dir von arte sî geslaht (20,5f.); at Kanvoleis wart verswendet der walt (Parz. II, 431), or again, waer worden der turnei,/ sô waer verswendet der walt (Parz. II, 672f.); we are told that Feirefis wart ein waltswende (Parz. I, 1703), and Ulrich gives to certain

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1. Chronicon Gaufredi Vosiensis, loc.cit.: Raimundus de Ventoul triginta equos causa jactantiae coram omnibus igne cremavit.

proficient jousters nicknames like Swendenwalt (Frd. 209,6) or Sperverser (Frd. 490,4). The whole aim of the joust was in fact to shatter as many lances as possible, one's own even more than those of one's opponent. At first lances were simple shafts of wood, but they became more and more ornate, being gaily painted and fitted with pennants of rich or embroidered stuff displaying armorial bearings or other devices.[1] The destruction of these expensively decorated lances was of course much more honorable than in the case of the cheaper sort. Gahmuret at Kanvoleiz breaks a hundred of them:-

> gevart hundert im wârn gezalt,
> diu gar vertet der fiere.[2]

- and, as we shall see, the hero of our tale is made to break all his three hundred painted lances in a single day and still have time and energy enough to draw on his reserve of plain ones (MvC. 1011ff.).

Audience and combatants alike seem to have derived a curious thrill of excitement, a kind of primitive emotional uplift, from the crash of splitting wood and the spectacle

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1. There are very numerous allusions to these painted lances in Frd., e.g. mîniu zwelf sper grüen gevar (73,4), man sach ouch dâ manic liehtez sper,/ gevärbet nâch der ritter ger (82,29f.), ein wol geverbetez sper (182,30) etc. and also to the coloured pennants, e.g. reht zwei hundert sper,/ an ieslîch sper ein vënelîn / gevar reht nâch dem schilde mîn (481,2ff.). Cf. also Parzival II,9ff.

2. Parzival II, 674f.

or the flying splinters and shattered hafts; this is put very clearly into words by the poet of the Nibelungenlied in such exclamations as:

585,2 Hey waz starker scefte vor den vrouwen brast!

or:-

1354,1 Wie rehte ritterliche die Dietrîches man
die schefte liezen vliegen mit trunzônen dan
höhe über schilde von guoter ritter hant!

But lances were not the only casualties of the tourney. It also involved extensive damage to shields and helmets, to the fabric of caparisons and surcoats, to crests and plumes. Here again, emotions seem to have been profoundly stirred by the sight of the wreckage.[2] For the splendour and fine workmanship of the jouster's equipment was not

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1. In the case of minstrels who, with the heralds, were entitled to go over the field picking up the debris as their perquisite, this enthusiasm was further accentuated by the prospect of plunder (cf. Parz. II, 676ff.: sîne liehten baniere / wâren den krîgierren worden. / daz was wol in ir orden).

2. There is an unmistakable relish in such lines as Der Turnei von Nantheiz 786ff.: vil manic rîchiu malhe / wart guotes îtel von der kost, / diu dâ vertân wart an der tjost, or 1026ff.: hey waz ûf die plânîe reis / gesteines unde goldes! / wê, waz rîches soldes / verdarp von höher koste dâ! / der sâmt rôt, grüen unde blâ / wart sêre dâ zerizzen. / diu zimier, diu dâ glizzen / von wunneclîcher varwe, / diu wurden alle garwe / zefteret ûf den helmen.

designed merely to take the eye of the beholder with a brave show; this reckless exposing of costly things to the hazards of combat was felt to be the essence of nobility, which ignored the counsels of prudence or thrift, and scorned to cling to material possessions, however precious or irreplaceable, in the single-minded pursuit of honour and glory. This view, the principle of guot umbe êre in its loftiest form, is given classic expression in the prose romance of Perceforest.[1] Queen Lydore brings to her husband Gadifer a crown si bel et si riche et si noble que au monde ne avoit son pareil. Round it was worked the history of Troy and on each of the twenty-two fleurs-de-lys surmounting it was a singing-bird of gold:-

> Madame dist le Roy ce nest pas ioyal a mocquer ne pour porter en tournoy / ne ie ne suis pas si preux que ie le peusse garder quil ne fust sur moy depece ou oste / et ce seroit trop griefve perte: car son pareil ne pourroit on trouver ... Sire dist la royne ung prince ne doit plaindre fors honneur / quant elle amendrist en luy ne se doit regarder quelle couste; mais qu'il lait./ car tout lor du monde ny suffiroit / Mille ans seroit le cercle en vostre tresor que vous ny auriez demye dragme dhonneur / vous le porterez par mon conseil pour vostre honneur exaulcer / et sil est rompu sur vostre healme au tranchant de lespee par bras de preux chevalier plus noblement ne peult estre departy / adonc recueilleront heraulx et menestriers les pieces qui en auront la richesse qui ne fait a priser a gentil homme et vous en aurez la louenge et lhonneur qui feront corner les trompettes et les bucines par le monde a

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1. Vol. I, chap. 159 (Paris edn. of 1531, fols. 159f.).

> tousiours ... car iay ouvrier qui ung plus beau me refera pour loisir.

Car iay ouvrier qui ung plus beau me refera pour loisir! This last phrase with its ingenuous candour checks the high-flying sentiments in mid-career and brings them tumbling down to earth again. The sacrifice proves to be no sacrifice at all; the king does not barter riches for renown, since at the conclusion of the affair he has gained the one without having to surrender the other, and wealth, though a gentleman may (indeed, according to the queen, must) affect to despise it, is something he knows he cannot do without.

In this show of regal indifference to material property combined with a shrewd appreciation of its usefulness, we have another example of that ambiguous streak that runs through so much of chivalric morality, always halting between the two worlds of dream and reality. Throughout the chivalric world the ideal of milte existed as an image in men's minds, precise and familiar and unvarying. No doubt too there were many individuals who succeeded in realising this ideal, or who strove more or less imperfectly to do so. But it is difficult to avoid the impression that for the average man what counted in largesse was not so much the nature of the action itself, nor the inner temper that inspired it, as the pull of fashion, the craving for applause and the necessity of maintaining or improving one's position in

society. The harnessing of guot to the cause of êre had thus its dangers; true, it must have kept up to the mark many who would otherwise have fallen below the prescribed standards of liberality, but by reducing this virtue to the level of a social obligation, regulated by conventional forms and exercized in the full glare of publicity, the knights laid themselves open to the influence of all kinds of motives that had very little to do with idealism. Only too often we can descry behind the façade of noble unconcern a preoccupation with money and monetary values that strikes the modern observer as faintly vulgarian.[1]

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1. Over and over again precise sums of money are mentioned in the literature of the time, frequently in turns of phrase that have clearly, from repeated use, become stock expressions of everyday language. In Germany the amount specified is usually a conventional round sum like tûsent marke wert (Eneide 13232f., Nl.1702,3f., Kudrun 171,2f. and 297,1f., Freidank 170,35, Parz. I, 337, etc.); when more exact amounts are quoted (eg. Walther, 104,11) it is often with humorous or ironic intention. In French literature there is a much greater variety of this type of phrase and they occur in every kind of context. E.g. Roland 1879f.: Deit en bataille estre a forz e fiers,/ O altrement ne valt .iiii. deniers, and again 1962: Sis bons escus un denier ne li valt. The poet of the Roman de Troie adds as the crowning touch to his account of the chamber of Paris and Helen: Plus valeit de cent mil livres. Similar expressions abound in the fabliaux, eg. Guillaume au faucon (MR.XXXV)278f.: Ne pris .i. oeul denier vaillant / Ce qu'el of Guillaume dire, or Le Prestre et le Chevalier (MR.XXXIV) 577ff.: Je ne sai mes s'il est vyves, / Car qui li conteroit .X. livres / Mes prendroit-il mes pour Gillain. Occasionally for greater effect the actual coinage is specified, as in the allusion to the sols tornois already cited (Chauvency 2618). The vivid, though awkwardly expressed, allusion to the beierischen schilling in MvG.491f. is in all likelihood a rendering of some similar phrase in the French original; and since the "Bavarian shilling" was another name for the "besant", we may guess that the source contained some reference to besanz, as in Clîges 3486f., or Gombert et les deus clers (MR.XXII) 66f.: Si aurez mon anel d'or / Qui miex vaut de .IIII. besanz.

Even acts of private generosity tend to have a slight air of calculation about them, as though they were deliberately planned gestures rather than spontaneous impulses of the heart. For instance, if fiction is a reliable guide to real life, the donor of a personal gift in the Middle Ages did not scruple to indicate to the recipient with perfect frankness the precise cash value of the object concerned.[1] Or if he failed to do this, society did it for him.[2]

In the case of social and ceremonial largesse the element of self-seeking and vain-glory was naturally more prominent still. This was notoriously so in the matter of alms-giving, where the left hand usually knew very well indeed what the right hand was doing, and the Church was constantly forced to rebuke those who gave durch ruom or durch êre rather than durch got. The same ulterior motives can be sensed where secular honour was concerned.

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1. Thus in the Roland Marsilie, offering Ganelon a present of valuable sables, does not omit to point out: Mielz en valt l'ors que ne font cinc cenz livres (516). Similarly in Chrétien's Erec, when Guinevere is dressing Enide for her reception at court, she remarks: Ma dameisele, a cest bliaut / Qui plus de cent mars d'ariant vaut / Vos coveint cest chainse changier (1635ff.).

2. In Flamenca the poet mentions the price of gifts such as furs (Quatre marcs costeron e mais 3496) or a golden goblet (Un bel enap daurat ses pa / De .iiii. marcs que trop ben se 3593f.). In the Ritterfahrt des Johann von Michelsperg the king of France gives the Bohemian knight-errant after the tourney a hundred pounds and a fine horse: das schatzete man an hundert marc (308).

Always, one feels, there is the idea of a position to be asserted, a favour to be procured, a reputation to be established, wavering self-esteem to be bolstered up. Even in their most headlong extravagances of giving or spending the knights always kept the end in view, however distorted or unbalanced their vision of it might become. And for this reason generosity in public, where prestige was at stake, could be quite compatible with stinginess at home, where non-honorific expenditure was involved. There is an undoubted ring of truth about the chronicler's account of Arnold of Ardres (the third of that name, surnamed "The Young"): licet extra patriam munificus et liberalis et expensaticus ("larges et despendanz") diceretur et circa militiam quidquid militantium et torniamentantium consuetudo poscebat et ratio, quasi prodigaliter expenderet, in patria tamen non tam avarus fuit quam parcus".[1]

It is the same double standard of morals that we have already noticed in connexion with the rules of courtesy, and here, as there, it is the tournament which reveals the tension in a specially acute form. On one hand it engaged both the natural passions and the material interests of the

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1. Ex Walteri de Clusa Historia Ardensium Dominorum (Bouquet, op.cit. XIII, p. 448). It is not surprising to learn that Arnold was detested by his vassals.

knight to the uttermost; on the other it confronted him with a code of honour which demanded at least the appearance of disinterested idealism and at the same time placed him in a situation where his every action was liable to be observed and judged by society as a whole. The result seems to have been a kind of tacit compromise. The ideal of milte was never itself called into question, and those who adhered to it consistently - whether heroes of fiction or of real life - were greatly admired as embodying something which lesser men admitted to be sublime but were unable or unwilling to achieve themselves. It seems also to have been recognized that there were occasions when a man might wish, for the sake of honour, to surpass himself in open-handedness - for instance, if he were fighting in the presence of his lady, or of some lord with whom he wished to find favour, or of some select and critical audience - but that these luxury attitudes were not for everyday use. To the average man it must have appeared mere foolishness to fling away on strangers the harvest of prisoners and plunder which he had been at such trouble and expense to win, unless there was a cogent reason for doing it. As we have already seen, there is plenty of evidence, quite apart from the irrepressible popularity of the turnei umbe

guot, that the knights normally regarded booty from a highly practical standpoint. This is taken for granted by Jacques de Vitry in the passage on the Seven Deadly Sins of tourneying.[1] Non carent quinto criminali peccato, id est avaricia vel rapina, dum unus alium capit et non redimit, et equum quem cupiebat cum armis aufert illi contra quem pugnando praevaluit. So in the fabliau Du Chevalier, de la Dame et du Clerc[2] we are told of the knight:-

23 Sovent haunta il les esturs,
Ilekes receut les honurs;
Chevals conquist, armes gaina.

and in Guillaume au Faucon[3] we read:-

374 Du chastelain vorrai parler,
Qui revient du tornoiement ...
Iv. prisons enmaine o soi,
Chevaliers riches et puissanz:
Li autres gaainz est molt granz ...

Even a paragon hero of romance, like Sone de Nansay, can return from the joust looking like a horse-dealer coming home from market:-

11141 Mais tous ses chevaus fist mener
Qu'il ot gaigniét au jouster.
Et quant tout furent arouté,
Bien sanle qu'il oust esté
A une fieste marcheans
U de chevaus oust bon tans.

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1. See above, p. 224.

2. MR., No. L.

3. MR., No. XXXV.

The contradiction is, as it were, summed up in the person of Guillaume le Maréchal. We have seen that for some years the Marshal had a successful career as a gentleman-adventurer, going from one tournament to another and making a prosperous livelihood - so much so that between one Whitsun and the following Lent he and his fellow-professional captured a hundred and three knights between them, as well as horses, armour and so forth.[1] He made no attempt to gloss over the fact that his one aim was to secure the maximum booty. Once, as we have seen, he sat on a captive to prevent his escaping; at a tourney at Eu he captured a horse which at the request of the Young King he was compelled to return to its owner, but he took good care to re-capture it as soon as possible once the tournament had been resumed;[2] on another occasion, when two captured horses were stolen from him, he did not rest till he had got them back again.[3] And on his death-bed, when the priest was exhorting him to repent of his sins and restore

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1. Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal 3420ff.
2. Ibid., 3218ff.
3. Ibid., 3946ff.

to his fellow-men everything he might have taken from them during his lifetime, he replied that this was impossible:-

> Car j'ai pris .v. cenz chevaliers,
> Dont j'ai et armes et destriers,
> E tot lor herneis retenu. [1]

But when polite society was witness of his exploits, the mood changes perceptibly. At Fleurs near Epernay - an exceptionally large and splendid gathering - the Marshal refused to take prisoners or plunder, and the poet records this in words very similar to those used of Erec in the romance:-

> Unques al gaaing n'entendi,
> Mais al bien faire tant tendi, [2]
> Que del gaaing ne li chalut.

At a tournament at Joigny[3] the atmosphere is even more chivalrous. The Marshal, having captured a horse, publicly gives it away to a herald,[4] he releases his prisoners on parole and hands over most of the booty either to those knights whom he has taken captive[5] or to the cause of the

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1. Ibid., 18483ff.
2. Ibid., 3007ff.
3. Ibid., 3426ff.
4. Ibid., 3485ff. The herald was also a minstrel and had just sung a song with the pointed refrain: Marescbal,/ Kar me donez un boen cheval!
5. To give away booty to a prisoner, that is, a man who was in one's power, and who was normally regarded as a source of profit, not as an object for bounty, was felt to be the non plus ultra of magnanimity. The hero of Moriz von Craûn, as we shall see, performs an exactly similar gesture.

Crusades. These gestures win applause from all present - qu'en li torne a molt grant prig.[1]

6.

Having this day my horse, my hand, my Launce
Guided so well that I obtained the prise ...
Horsemen my skill in horsemanship advaunce,
Towne folke my strength; a daintier Judge applies
His praise to slight, which from good use doth rise;
Some luckie wits impute it but to chaunce ...
How farre they shoote awry! The true cause is
Stella lookt on, and from her heavenly face
Sent forth her beames which made so faire a race.[2]

The reason for the unwonted altruism of the Marshal at Joigny is not far to seek. In the whole catalogue of the tournaments in which he distinguished himself it is the only one of which we read that ladies were present. At once the whole tone of the proceedings becomes more gallant. The knights feel, or profess to feel, themselves inspired to greater feats of valour(Per les dames qui iloc érent / Prist li mains hardiz quer en sei / De veintre le jor le tornei 3524ff.), to more decorous behaviour (there is music and dancing, and in 3474ff. we catch an unexpected glimpse of the formidable Marshal leading the singing for

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1. Ibid., 3558ff.

2. Sir Philip Sidney, Sonnets of Astrophel XLI (Cambridge University Press Edn.)

the carole o simple voiz e o doz son), and to magnanimous flourishes of the kind just mentioned. The fact that this tourney (which can be dated roughly about 1180) is the only one of its type recorded in the Histoire shows that up to about the last quarter of the twelfth century women[1] were still by no means regular spectators on these occasions. In the earlier cross-country skirmishes their presence would have been pointless, if not a positive embarrassement. But as the tourney became better regulated and more of a social event the attendance of ladies came to be taken more and more for granted. Whether this was the actual cause of the transformation - another example of the refining influence of women on chivalric society in general - or whether it was an increasing mannerliness in the tournament itself which gradually made it a more acceptable entertainment for ladies of birth and breeding, it is difficult to say; both factors would in any case operate simultaneously towards the same final result.

When the contest still took place in the castle courtyard or on the level stretch of ground in front of the

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1. And not only women of good reputation; prostitutes flocked to the tourneys, cf. the passage from Humbert de Romans already cited (Lecoy de la Marche, op.cit., p. 394f.) in which he speaks of the "folles femmes qui se réunissent là".

castle,[1] the usual custom was for the womenfolk to look on from the windows or battlements.[2] On such occasions the feminine element in the audience would be fairly small, confined to the ladies of the household and their guests; though in the case of larger or royal castles, or of those situated in a town, the number of women present would naturally be much greater. Later, when the tournament was held on a bigger scale and within a set arena, decorated stands would be set up all round the lists to accommodate the ladies and other privileged spectators.[3] The resulting scene must

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1. This was the normal and most obviously convenient place for an arena of the open type, which was retained long after the castle enclave had begun to be transformed into a township. For instance at Kanvoleiz the jousting takes place on the plân in front of the drawbridge beyond which is the palas of the Queen, in Heinrich von der Türlin's Crône (ed. Scholl, Bibl.d.lit.Vereins in Stuttgart XXVII, Stuttgart 1852) 7699f.: ûf der brâcrîe / hie niden vor der stat, and 18061: vor dem castel ûf dem sant.

2. Ydoine et Garsiles (Bartsch, RF., I, 57), 147 and 154: (Ydoine) s'ert mise as fenestres .../ Riches fu li tornois desous la tor antive; in Flamenca, when a joust is about to begin, the girls of the household run als fenestrals per miels vezer (790); Ulrich relates that at Sacile die line wären vrouwen vol (Frd. 182,10); pictorial representations of the tournament, as for example the miniatures of the Manesse Codex, regularly include a row of female figures standing or seated in arcaded galleries or windows watching the combatants and taking the liveliest interest in their fortunes.

3. An early instance of the provision of stands for the ladies occurs in Chrétien's Lancelot (ed. W. Foerster, Halle 1899), 5600ff. where unes granz loges de fust is built for the queen and her attendants at Pomelegloi.

have been very romantic and colourful, which doubtless explains why it is so often included - often anachronistically - in modern film representations of the tourney.

There are many obvious reasons why the tournament should have held such attractions for a feminine audience. One of these was simple curiosity; for many ladies in smaller or more remote castles it would have all the excitement of novelty.[1] Moreover, even when a familiar spectacle, it would always provide a welcome break in the monotonous routine of castle life, an opportunity for the display of new finery, for dancing, banqueting and revels, for a family reunion, for meeting old friends and making new ones - in short, a landmark in the course of ordinary existence, to be looked forward to and remembered with delight. The jousting itself offered them all that could be desired in the way of sensation, including (at least on occasion) the thrill of being swept off their feet by a mass emotion not unlike that which grips the crowd at a

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1. The countess in Moriz von Craûn who begs the hero: Nim einen turnei für die stat,/ daz ich der einen hie gesehe./ nû flîege deiz alsô geschehe,/ wan ich gesach deheinen nie (598ff.) has her counterpart in the ladies of Chauvency who onques ne virent / Tournoi ferir, si le desirent (Tournoi de Chauvency, 2657f.).

Spanish bullfight of the present day.[1]

But these attractions were quickened and deepened by what must have been the most potent and pervasive element of all - the idea of courtly love. Its implications, recognized and responded to with intense awareness, even when unexpressed, permeated the whole of chivalric life. A complete system of thought and sentiment, vaguely felt or transmuted into precise images, created in men and women alike a kind of practised emotional receptivity to the impulses of the heart. In other words, courtly love was everywhere "in the air", and messages constantly travelled to and fro on secret wavelengths conveying meanings which we can no longer hope to decipher with any accuracy.

Within this scheme of courtly love the tournament had a prominent part to play. It was not that intellectualized or aestheticized form of Minne cultivated by the lyric poets, where the singer adopted a humble and passive rôle, asking no guerdon save that his chosen idol should accept his worship and deign to act as his muse. Nor was it the spiritual, platonic form of homage that regarded the noble conduct of life as the one truly worthy service, and demanded only that the lady chosen should be a guiding star in the

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1. La Curne de Ste. Palaye, Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie (Paris 1781), I, p. 162, quotes an incident from Perceforest where the ladies, in a state of almost hysterical excitement, tear off their wimples, veils, mantles, sleeves and so on, and fling them to the knights in the lists.

pursuit of virtue. Both these idealistic attitudes are governed by the principle that it is better to travel than to arrive - the quest, the act of service, is more important than the attainment of reward. The tournament catered for the more realistic (and, we may guess, more common) outlook, that saw Frauendienst as a feudalistic contract, in which the loyal devotion of the vassal entitled him as though by legal right to certain benefits. That is, a form of courtly love in which the winning and final enjoyment of the Minnelohn is the basis of the whole relationship. In this contract, each party had binding obligations which involved a certain measure of hardship to both; the knight had to undergo trials and losses in the lady's service, but the lady also was bound to make sacrifices and take risks on herself, in order to fulfil her share in the bargain.

A compact of service and reward was not, of course, confined to the tournament. The lady might demand all kinds of proofs of devotion from her knight before conferring the ultimate recompense.[1] But the tournament was clearly

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1. One thinks, for instance, of Schionatulander and the quest for the leash, or of Lancelot riding in the cart, or of Ulrich, in leper's disguise, sitting among the beggars at his lady's castle gate.

the most satisfying way in which it might be put into effect. To the ladies it offered, in addition to the pageantry, the spectacle of a number of men fighting, at least ostensibly, on their behalf, and the flattering thought that they had by their mere presence inspired the feats of which they were witnesses:-

> Dames, pucellez i seront
> Pour esgarder que cil feront
> Qui requierent joie d'amour ... [1]

If this was the case when the ladies were part of a crowd of anonymous representatives of their sex, it was doubly so when a particular individual could feel personally responsible for the whole affair. As spectator of a tournament devised by the knight at her sole behest and in her sole honour, the lady would experience a thrill of pleasure to which the secret nature of the understanding between the pair only lent added piquancy.[2]

But it was no less gratifying to the knights to feel that a feminine audience was following their fortunes with intense eagerness, and that they were being invited to prove

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1. Tournoi de Chauvency, 83ff.

2. Excitement, gratified vanity, the savouring of power, could hardly be more skilfully suggested than in the scene from Moriz von Craûn (879ff.) where the approach of the ship is watched from a turret window by the countess diu ez allez hâte gefrumet, and her rush of complacency, denied open expression, vents itself in bold and ironical jesting.

their devotion to their liege-lady in a manner so thoroughly congenial to their own tastes; for the tournament, unlike the more idealistic forms of Frauendienst, involved self-assertion rather than self-abasement, and not only permitted, but positively encouraged, them to give free rein to their love of fighting and display. It also gave them the sense of "winning" the lady by prowess of arms or by superior brilliance of plumage, so that she became in a way part of the spoils of battle. It enabled them moreover to pay lip-service to the cause of love, while allowing them to be in reality actuated by other less exalted motives. And finally, as though it were not sufficiently its own reward, the tournament held out to them the hope of the most coveted prize of all - the Minnelohn. All these factors combined to make the moment of triumph in the tournament one of supreme satisfaction - the realization of the knight's most cherished dream of glory. It is the moment summed up perfectly by the artist of the Manesse Codex in the miniature of Herzog Heinrich von Breslau, where the victorious Frauenritter, the focus of universal acclaim, bare-headed, so that his features can be seen of all, surrounded by admiring squires, preceded by a fanfare of music and accompanied by heralds crying his praises, advances to receive from the lady's hand the wreath of roses which

symbolizes the rewards of love.[1]

To earn these rewards the knight had to give proof of the same qualities which we have already seen to be the basic ingredients of honour. Love and Honour, the twin pillars on which the chivalric ethos rested, were thus parallel and complementary. Each was, so to speak, at once the whip and the carrot - both the driving force that impelled, and the vision of attainment that beckoned, the knight along the road to virtue. And each had something of the nature of an agreement between two parties; honour being a contract between the knight and society ("if I behave thus and thus, you as my peers are bound to hold me in high esteem"), love a contract between two individuals ("my loyal service demands your loyal requiting"). Perhaps the main reason why the tournament was so closely associated with the idea of courtly love was that it called into play in the service of love the selfsame qualities as those demanded by the pursuit of honour. Once again, it is not so much a question of the inward, spiritual, virtues of chivalry as of the more tangible external ones - above all,

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1. This miniature, reproduced in the Appendix, is a perfect antitype to the miniature from Matfre Ermengaut's Breviari d'amor, where demons seize in their clutches the aymadors who engage in taulas redondas e tornevamens per amors de lors donas.

of zuht, manheit and milte.

Courtesy was naturally an indispensable element in any knightly activity directed to the service of love. Thus Hartmann von Aue in the Büchlein includes among the counsels given by the Heart to the aspiring lover:-

629 Sînen lîp habe er schône
nâch der minne lône:
er sî zühteclîchen balt.

But zuht was on the whole not the most conspicuous member of this trinity of virtues. Its practice was scarcely costly enough for really dramatic effects, and in any case the tournament mêlée was not the ideal setting for parades of courtesy, though it found abundant scope for display in the formalities that preceded and followed the actual fighting. The most potent influences linking the tournament to the idea of Frauendienst have their roots in something much deeper - in the instinctive deference paid by human nature always and everywhere to valour and magnificence. Manheit and milte were the two principal virtues by which a knight might hope to gain his lady's favour, for they involved him in visible danger and expense. This is what Ulrich means when he speaks, as he does repeatedly, of the venturing of lîp und guot in the service of his lady:-

6,2 Sô daz er herze, lîp, guot gît
in ir dienest als er sol.
62,11 Ich wil den lîp und ouch daz guot
durch si wâgen, daz ist mîn muot. [1]

This is what the author of the thirteenth-century "Lettre à une Dame"[2] means by the feat necessitating meschef de cors ou de chateus which the lady is entitled to demand of her lover after six years of probationary service. This too is what the author of Moriz von Craûn means when he speaks in line 297 of the schaden und arbeit which the service of love must entail.

Milte could be considered as enabling the knight in a quite literal sense to "earn" the Minnelohn. Not every courtly writer reduces the bargain to such mercenary terms as the author of the fabliau Des .III. Chevaliers et del Chainse,[3] when he says:-

292 Tout son despens li a paiiet,
Et son amur li a donée ...

- but the thought is one that recurs constantly. Even Wolfram makes Feirefiz expect some return for his financial outlay:-

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1. Cf. also 69,23f.; 94,16; 102,5f. etc.

2. Ed. J. Koch (ZfromPhil. LIV, 1934, 50ff.) and quoted by C.B. West "Courtoisie in Anglo-Norman Literature" (Medium Aevum Monographs, Oxford 1938), p. 143.

3. MR. No. LXXI.

Sie hiez mich milteclîche geben
und guote rîter an mich nemen ...
dâ engein ir minne ist mîn lôn ... [1]

Worthy ladies, moreover (says Ulrich), detest a stingy knight:-

471,13 Dem ist daz guot liep für den lîp,
dem sint von reht vînt guotiu wîp.

- and this is echoed by the French song-writer:-

... qui amie
Veut faire sans boisdie
Et amer vraiement,
Que ja en li n'iert assise vilanie,
Ne covoitise d'amasser argent ...
Ains aime bonne compaignie
Et despent adès largement. [2]

This view could, of course, be interpreted from the idealistic standpoint: the refusal of the knight to count the cost of his service is a sign that love has schooled him to rise above base motives of self-interest; it is a proof of an unconditional dedication that counts material possessions of no account except in so far as they can be consecrated to the service and honour of a lady; it is a means of shedding reflected glory on her who is the source and inspiration of such excellence. But although the theory of courtly love assumed generosity to be a spontaneous

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1. Parzival XV, 1036ff.

2. G. Raynaud, op.cit., I, cxxx.

by-product of love, demanding and receiving no material reward, this exalted ideal could scarcely be maintained in actual life. It was asking altogether too much of human nature that the knight should remain completely selfless in practising largesse and the lady completely disinterested in encouraging it. Both inevitably demanded in return for their exertions advantages of a rather more tangible nature than mere inward ennoblement. The knight clung stubbornly to his hope of lôn; for her part the lady, though she naturally could not be the direct object of the knight's liberality, could have the satisfaction of witnessing his noble expenditure on her behalf. For both the tournament offered the best possible opportunity of gratifying their hopes and wishes.

Yet generosity, no less than courtesy, was overshadowed by the primary virtue of manheit; in the words of the author of the Tournoi de Chauvency they are the paremens of prowess.[1] There is nothing new or surprising in the idea of a natural congruity between manly exploits and the favour of ladies; the principle "none but the brave deserves the fair" is after all as old and universal as creation

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1. Tournoi de Chauvency 2619ff.: Savoir devés tuit que larresce / Est uns des paremens proesce,/ Et cortoisie est li secons.

itself, but seldom can it have been so much in harmony with the spirit of the age as during the chivalric period. It is one of the basic tenets of the knightly code that the lady is "served", and her fame and honour increased, by exhibitions of superior valour performed for her sake and under her inspiration.

> Und sol mir immer prîs geschehen,
> des muoz ich ir ze prîse jehen,
> wan er wird durch sî bejagt ... [1]

Women are said to abhor sloth or slackness no less than miserliness, and to demand as a matter of course that their knights shall show themselves capable of energy, courage and endurance:-

> Swer vrowen lôn verdienen wil,
> daz muoz geschehen mit arbeit;
> in ist gemach an mannen leit. [2]

Sometimes this <u>ritterschaft</u> might take the form of a kind of warlike knight-errantry, such as that pursued by Feirefiz:-

> Ich hân in manegen pînen
> bejaget mit rîterlîcher tât,
> das mîn nû genâde hât
> die künegîn Secundille, [3]

- but its natural (and we may perhaps guess, most frequent)

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1. <u>Frd.</u>, 10,21ff.
2. <u>Frd.</u>, 275,14ff.
3. <u>Parzival</u>, XV, 1030ff.

setting was the mock warfare of the tournament. Many passages might be quoted to illustrate this. Ulrich, for instance, writes in his second "Büchlein":-

154,14 Mit maneger hande ritterspil
sol ich iu beiden dienen vil,
dir (= Minne) unde miner vrouwen.
man sol mich offte schouwen
in iuwerm dienest harnaschvar,

- and again, at the very outset of his career as a jouster, when still a squire, he resolves:-

10,16 ... wil ich ir ze dienste sîn,
daz muoz mit riterschaft geschehen;
man muoz mich under helme sehen
ir ze dienest mîne tage.

We read of the hero of the Novelle Frauentreue:-[1]

30 er doch nie vermeit
er waere in vrouwen dienste balt,
mit ritterschefte manikvalt,
mit sper und mit dem schilde.

The hero of Unser Frauen Ritter[2] even dedicates his achievements in the tourney to the honour of the Virgin Mary. Meeting a girl named Maria he expresses his reverence for this name:-

71 Mir ist niht wan iuwer name ze hêr
wan ich mit schilden und mit sper
ir diene und allen vrouwen,
ich wil mit swerten houwen
durch sî, nâch der ir sît genant.

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1. GA., No. XIII.

2. GA., No. LXXIII.

Occasionally this warlike note is heard in Minnesang, as for instance in a song of Hartmann von Starkenberg:-

> Wenn wil sî mir trûren swachen
> der ich hân gedienet her?
> ez muoz in ir dienste erkrachen,
> beide schilt und ouch daz sper.[1]

But on the whole this mood is something quite alien to the normal spirit of the courtly love lyric, where the emphasis is on patient and humble devotion. It is bolder and more vigorous, expressing itself in action rather than dreams and longings, and though not devoid of idealism,[2] is still firmly in touch with the realities of human nature and human society. Unlike Minnesang it does not claim to be disinterested; the knight makes no secret of the fact that he serves in hope, and indeed in legitimate expectation, of his reward:-

> Habt ir mit tyost iht sper verswant
> ûf frouwen lôn mit iwer hant ...[3]

Nor is there on either side any doubt as to the nature of the reward which the knight keeps so constantly before his eyes. It may be alluded to openly, either in words,

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1. Kraus, Liederdichter 18, III, 7ff.

2. Cf. Obenauer, op.cit., p. 109: "Niemand wird nun zwar leugnen, dass dieser von seinen engen Fesseln gelöste Eros auch edlere Kräfte heraustreibt, indem diese im Wettkampf der Besten den ritterlichen Ehrgeiz entzünden, und niemand vor der Geliebten sich feige oder schlecht darstellen will."

3. Frd., 333,9f.

such as the bîzeligen, umbevân, and similar expressions so freely used by men like Ulrich, or - even more drastically - in pictorial terms, as in an Italian miniature showing a tourney in progress and a group of ladies standing to one side raising their gowns to display their bodies;[1] or it may be veiled by some conventional symbol such as the rose-wreath held out by the lady to the victorious knight in the miniature of Heinrich von Breslau mentioned above: but in either case the basic assumption is the same.

Nevertheless it is clear that the pursuit of mere physical satisfaction in love for its own sake was felt to be worthless, if not actually shameful. Only a woman of noble character and sentiments, selected by the knight as a fitting object of his service, could confer the reward in such a way as to enhance the honour of both. This is the

reinen süezen solt
den man von guoten wîben holt.[2]

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1. Vatican MS. of the thirteenth century, reproduced in G. Ferrario, Storia ed analisi degli antichi romanzi di cavalleria, con dissertazioni ... sui tornei e sulle giostre (Milan 1828), Plate XX, facing p. 110.

2. Frd., 318,19f.

It is one of the commonplaces of courtly love that one must choose a lady

> Bele et bone et sachans ...
> Honneur prometans,
> Et le noble guerredon
> Des fins amans. [1]

In the same way the author of Moriz von Craûn insists that casual or mercenary amours are devoid of ennobling virtue:-

> 409 Vil swache lônent boesiu wîp
> die guoten gebent hôhen muot. [2]

This intense preoccupation with the idea of the Minnelohn - waz ist diu werlt ân wibes lôn? - explains the vehemence with which the courtly lover demanded his rights:-

> Dame, se j'ai bien siervi,
> Que j'aie tel nom desiervi,
> Faites moi ciertain paiement. [3]

Reason, justice, morals, public opinion were invoked in support of his claims. Par bel servir est dame a droit conquise. [4] Refusal to grant the reward of service was cheating, robbery, repugnant to all right-thinking people.

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1. Raynaud, op.cit., I, celviii.
2. This point is treated in greater detail in Chapter II.
3. Jean de Condé, Le Chevalier à la Manche, 1097ff. (quoted Langlois, op.cit., p. 332).
4. J. Brakelmann, Les plus anciens chansonniers français (Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus d. Gebiete d.rom.Phil., Marburg 1896), "Li vidame de Chartres", III, 16.

It was inconceivable that a worthy lady should be guilty of such disloyalty:-

> ... es wirt ir minnen solt
> sô ritterlich von mir geholt,[1]
> daz si mîn muos genâde hân.

Or in the words of Audefrois li Bastars:-

> ... qui aimme sanz faintise
> Gent guierredon atent,
> Quant il aimme en lieu vaillant.
> Dont ai je m'amor bien mise,
> Car en tel lieu l'ai assise
> Que ne porroie cuidier
> Qu'aie servi sanz loier.[2]

In truth, it was more than a breach of the secular code of honour,[3] it partook of the nature of sin. The idea of the sinfulness of withholding the Minnelohn seems to have been particularly common in France, where the word

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1. Frd., 378,25ff.

2. Brakelmann, op.cit., p. 91 (App. to "Audefrois li Bastars" V).

3. The clash between the conception of honour in love as prescribed on one hand by natural morality and Christian ethics, and on the other by the specialized code of chivalry, accounts for the complex and contradictory implications of the word êre in Moriz von Craûn, especially where the position of the woman is concerned. Sometimes, as in 1360, feminine honour seems to denote conjugal fidelity and chastity, elsewhere, as in 1308, 1409, 1454, etc. it denotes the fulfilment of the obligations of courtly love.

péchié occurs over and over again in this connexion.[1] There is perhaps more than a hint of the French original in Moriz von Craûn, where the countess is debating in her own mind whether to overlook her lover's offence or no:-

1270 Solt ich in des ungelônet lân,
daz waere ein solich sünde
die ich nimmer überwünde.

If the reward were unduly delayed, the knight became depressed, impatient, resentful:-

Swelch man der minne dienet vil,
und im diu minne niht lônen wil,
der muoz vil ungemüetes tragen.[2]

If it were denied altogether, the knight was infuriated, frankly declaring his service to have been a waste of time, energy and money, and regarding himself as free to transfer his allegiance to one more deserving of his attention:-

Swer dienest dâ die lenge tuot,
dâ man im niht gelônen kan,
der ist ein gar unwîser man.
sus wart mîn dienst an ir verlorn.[3]

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1. Cf. Brakelmann, op.cit., "Li vidame de Chartres" V, 11f.: Entre ma dame et amors m'ont / Trai, sor els est li pechiez, and "Chardons de Crosilles", II, 8: Pechié fera, s'ele ocist son ami; see also Gennrich, op.cit., No. 219: Elle m'ocit sans defiance / Dont elle fait pechiét mont grant .../ K'ains ne me fut gueredonant; Le Chatelain de Coucy 2638f: Dame, pecié grant / Avés fait et grant vilonnie, etc.

2. Frd., 337,15ff.

3. Frd., 413,28ff.

The same expression - verloren - is used twice by the waiting-woman in Moriz von Craûn (1301, 1328), when she is pleading with the countess to take the hero back again into her favour, and the intensity of anger and scorn which his liege-lady's conduct arouses in him betrays itself in his every word and action during the ensuing scenes. Such perfidy did not simply injure the individual concerned; it struck a blow at the very foundations of the courtly ideal by undermining the whole elaborate structure of Frauendienst:-

1310 Begât ir dise unhôveschеit,
ich waene ouch niht das iemen lebe
der immer mê ûf lônes gebe
gedienet, wirt im ditz bekant.[1]

The whole matter is summed up with categorical finality by the Swiss Minnesinger Winli, in words which he puts into the mouth of his lady:-

Wie sol es iemer werden rât?
dîn zuht, dîn manheit und dîn milte
hânt mich mit swerte und ouch mit sper
ervohten under helme und under schilte

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1. Cf. Parzival XV, 1016ff.: Bin ieslich wîp empfienge haz / von ir dienstbietaere / op dir ungelônet waere.

mit heldes hant in lichter wât.[1]

7.

"This is the monstrosity in love, lady - that the will is infinite and the execution confined; that the desire is boundless and the act a slave to limit."[2]

The quotation from Winli's Tagelied which concludes the preceding section raises once again the baffling problem of truth and fiction in chivalric literature. These words are not the authentic utterance of a living person - the speaker is a figment of the poet's own mind, and presumably no more than a mouthpiece for his own sentiments. And the suggestion of conquest on the one hand and submission on the other is so flattering to the self-esteem of the author that we may well be tempted to wonder how far such passages as this can be taken as a

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1. K. Bartsch, Die Schweizer Minnesänger (Frauenfeld 1886) No. XV, 8. Even in the poet's own day, these lines seem to have made a striking impression. They certainly provided inspiration for the artist of the Manesse Codex, who portrayed Winli receiving from his lady a ring as pledge of the Minnelohn before entering the tourney. The miniature (reproduced in the Appendix) corresponds so exactly with the scene in Moriz von Craûn 592ff. that it might almost have been designed as an illustration to our text.

2. Shakespeare, Troilus and Cressida, III, 2.

guide to the conditions of real life. In the same way, we might question the veracity of all the stock motifs of tournament literature. When (as for instance in Moriz von Craûn) a tournament is arranged by a single knight in honour of a single lady, is this reality or romantic invention? Was it in fact possible for an individual, unless he were a person of exceptional wealth and influence, to organize a tournament single-handed, at the behest of his lady or for any other reason? Was it accepted custom for the lady to bestow her favours as the reward of valour? In short, was the whole contract of service and reward in love felt to be part of the normal business of life, or was it - consciously or unconsciously - play-acting?

Questions such as these spring to the mind; yet it may be that they are only relevant in an age like the present, which on the whole takes for granted the existence of certain frontiers dividing the world of ideal fantasy from the world of actual life, and which makes no serious attempt to mingle, let alone identify, the two. In chivalric society, with its strongly idealistic bias, the dividing line was less sharply defined, so that the two spheres could not only touch but merge imperceptibly into each other, until even the people concerned would have been hard put to it to distinguish plainly between the substance

and the mirage of reality.

Although there can be no doubt that the tournament and the idea of courtly love were intimately bound up with one another, the exact nature and extent of the association must still remain largely a matter of guesswork. Ulrich speaks with the accents of personal passion, but it is impossible not to feel that much of his "service of ladies" was inspired by a desire for military glory or by the fashion of his day - a fashion which one suspects he did not always take quite seriously - and that the romanticised account which he gives of his feelings and actions is by no means to be taken at its literal face value. On the other hand, in the Tournei de Chauvency, the ladies are apostrophised by the heralds, not necessarily as the Minnedamen of the knights in the lists, but en masse as representatives of their sex and types of womanly virtue, in an impersonal high-flown jargon which to our ears sounds stilted and unreal in the extreme. It may all be part of the ceremonial of the occasion, a device to stir up an appearance of exalted sensibility, but are we entitled to assume that the emotions aroused were wholly artificial? Convention and truth seem to have been inextricably interwoven, each stimulating and heightening the other, as genuine

sentiment clothed itself in ritual or communal forms, and these forms in turn, under the pressure of custom or association, helped to create the reality they bodied forth. The tournament, in which both private and social emotions were involved to a quite unusual degree, provided a particularly fruitful meeting-ground for these two complementary impulses.

But more than all this, it gratified the craving of chivalric society for a poetic quality in daily life. In a sense the whole evolution of the tourney, from a military exercise to a fine flowering of art and manners, was a product of this attitude of mind, in which the element of courtly love was only one factor out of many. Here perhaps we get closest to the heart of the problem. The tournament was more than a prelude to the enjoyment of love, more than a chance to work off excess fighting energy, more than a pretext for rival exhibitions of wealth and prowess, more even than an opportunity for self-assertion and self-display. It was in its very essence a flight from commonplace actuality, a projection into real life of a romantic vision.

There were many ways in which knightly society tried to compel life to conform to a chimerical image of grace and refinement. Utilitarian considerations like convenience or efficiency were willingly sacrificed to the pursuit of

aesthetic values. The flowers strewn on thehall floor, the roses woven into chaplets for the banquet or scattered over the water in which one washed or bathed, the garments closely moulded to the body, the fairy-tale standards of personal beauty, the over-elaborate, over-decorated products of the seignorial kitchen, all are in their several ways attempts to make the dream come true. And each time these naively ardent aspirations after the life beautiful must have come to grief on the intractable stuff of reality. The flowers would droop or become sodden or trampled into an unsavoury mess, the clinging garments would reveal ageing or uncomely figures, no amount of seasoning could disguise the flavour of stale or salted food. Art and literature could - and as we shall see probably did - provide a temporary means of escape, a compensation for the inadequacies of human existence, but it was in the tournament that the ideal came nearest to being translated into terms of actual living.

It offered the knight a form of warfare more rewarding than ordinary fighting. War at home was a sordid affair, and even in the fantastic world of the Orient it remained grimly unaesthetic. There were intense hardships and discomforts to be undergone, with no admiring audience to observe his valorous deeds, no minstrels or heralds to

publish his fame, no ladies looking on to applaud or hold out the prize of victory. Instead of the rich accoutrements, the luxury gestures, the glamorous setting, there was the squalor and strain of real-life campaigning, the chain-mail under a burning sun, the faded surcoat, the sick horses, thirst, fever, isolation, and the ever-present menace of death or capture. The Church might proclaim unwearyingly that the jouster was doomed to perdition while the Crusader held a sure passport to Paradise, but it is small wonder that these arguments carried little weight once the first wave of fervour had spent itself.

In the same way the tournament offered a short cut to virtue. We have already discussed the importance attached to the possession of "virtue" in chivalric society, so precariously balanced between barbarism and civilization. The officially accepted code of ethics was naturally that of Christianity. But the ethical qualities demanded by Christianity - humility, self-denial, the subduing of the senses, detachment from material things, the renunciation of the world, the flesh and the devil, the lust of the eyes and the pride of life - were not only beyond hope of attainment; they struck at the very root of everything to which the knight clung most eagerly. With the emergence of a new secular culture people had once more become intensely

aware of all that this life had to offer, without as yet possessing the emancipation of spirit that would enable them to enjoy it with a clear conscience. The whole chivalric period was overshadowed by this conflict, from which in the last resort it was only possible to escape by setting up, as a substitute for the austere teaching of the Church, some less exacting, more humanly satisfying conception of the good life. The cult of chivalry, and to an even greater extent the cult of courtly love, were in a sense accommodations of this nature, retaining the temper of idealism but diverting it into secular channels. Chivalry enabled men to feel a glow of corporate loyalty, of brotherly fellowship and good-will that transcended certain frontiers, but, unlike Christian charity, stopped short of the stern duty of universal application. In courtly love they could continue to enjoy the feeling of unselfish endeavour, of pursuing the unattainable, of spirituality, of being raised to a state of grace beyond the reach of the common herd, without abandoning altogether the claims of sense and natural desire.

But, as we have seen, in their purest form even the standards of chivalry and courtly love were pitched too high for ordinary mortals, so that here too practice was bound to fall short of theory. Indeed, it was not just a

question of falling short; since these temporal ideals were hardly less lofty than those of Christianity itself, their adoption could only lead to yet another unresolved clash in the minds and hearts of those who acknowledged their validity; and the effect of this fresh tension was to widen still further the gulf between precept, which steadily maintained a tone of sublime absolutism, and practice, which in fact had to make ever greater concessions to human nature. From the knight's point of view, one of the principal advantages of the tournament was the admirable opportunity which it offered for combining outward assent to chivalric ideals with inward compromise and evasion. Here, in a setting peculiarly conducive to an elevated frame of mind, he could play the part of brave and selfless lover in the eyes of the world - and perhaps in his own eyes as well - without foregoing his private wishes and interests. Here too, in circumstances more favourable than those provided as a rule by real life, he could display at least the external virtues of knighthood on his own terms. In a word, the tournament gave him the longed-for illusion of right and noble conduct - almost one might say saintliness - without exacting the high price demanded by his religious creed.

It is interesting to note the extent to which the

tournament came to acquire a quasi-religious significance. This went deeper than the mere outward manifestations of religion, the Mass said before the contest, the prayers and invocations of the saints and pious ejaculations, which persist today in roughly similar circumstances, for example, in Spanish bullfighting; it permeated the whole atmosphere of the occasion. In courtly love there was always the suggestion that, as Steinmar humorously phrases it, *ein armez minnerlin ist rehte ein marterære*,[1] but it was in the tournament that his sufferings approximated most nearly those of true martyrdom. Not for nothing do the heralds in the *Tournoi de Chauvency* call the battered and exhausted combatants *droit saint et droit martyrs*.[2] Konrad von Würzburg in the *Turnei von Nantheiz* 930f. similarly speaks of Richard the Lionheart as *ein marterære / nâch reiner tugende lêre*.

For this reason a love-token worn in the tourney was invested with the sanctity and the talismanic power of a

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1. Bartsch, *Deutsche Liederdichter*, LXXVI, 8.
2. See the quotation at the head of section 5 of the present chapter.

relic.[1] At Kanvoleiz Gahmuret wears over his armour a shift of Herzeloyde's, als ez ruorte ir blôzen lîp,[2] and when it is returned to her, all tattered and pierced with holes, after the fighting is over, she dons it again over her bare flesh; in precisely the same way Obilôt gives Gawain a sleeve from her new robe der hete ir zeswen arm gerwert,[3] and this also is carried back to the girl, durchstochen und durchslagen, and immediately fastened on again over her arm.[4]

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1. This religious veneration of the love-token was by no means confined to the tournament. In Chrétien's Cliges the Queen gives Alexander a shift trimmed at neck and wrists with gold through which his beloved, Soredamors, had threaded one of her own hairs; had he only known this, says the poet, an faist / Saintüaire, si con je cuit,/ Si l'aorast et jor et nuit (1194ff.). Later, when he has been told about the hair, he can hardly restrain himself que il ne l'aore et encline (1619). In the same author's Lancelot, when the hero has found some hairs from the head of the queen: Ja mes oel d'ome ne verront / Nule chose tant enorer,/ Qu'il les comance a aorer (1472ff.); when he is admitted to the queen's bed-chamber puis vint au lit la reïne,/ Si l'aore et si li encline,/ Car an nul cors saint ne croit tant (4669ff.), and when he leaves the chamber he genuflects as though to an altar (4734ff.).

2. Parzival II, 1275.

3. Ibid. VII, 1126.

4. Ibid. VII, 1580ff.

The same motif occurs in the fabliau Des .III. Chevaliers et del Chainse, where the lady commands that, to win her love, the knight shall go into the fray with no other protection than her shift. Two men refuse to expose themselves to certain injury and probable death, but the third is willing to entrust himself entirely to the miraculous power of love;-

148 Do chanse miés armeis sera
Ke de nule arme k'ilh avoit.

Though severely wounded, the ecstasy of his passion makes him quite unconscious of his hurts. The lady in her turn receives the shift back again, all stained with the blood of her lover and wears it publicly at a feast arranged by her husband, to the general consternation of the guests.

343 Et dist, por ce k'il est molhiés
Dou sanc a son ami loiaul,
Tient ele à parement roial
Le chanse, car ors fins ne pieres
Ne poroient estre si chieres
Ke li sanc dont ilh estoit tains.

Again, when Ulrich has one of his fingers amputated in consequence of an injury received during a tourney, he sends it to the lady, set in the precious velvet and gold binding of a Minnebrief, like some relic attached to the cover of a costly Bible. For her part the lady (though steadfastly rejecting his suit) lays aside the finger in a chest where she can contemplate it every day.[1] It is a bizarre little

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1. Frd. 140,30 - 141,12 and 155,21ff.

episode, and probably owes much if not all to the poet's imagination, but on that very account, like the other more frankly literary inventions of romance, it throws a significant light on the mentality of the society from which it emanates. One is left with the strong impression that the voluntary risks and bloodshed of the tournament induced in those taking part, whether actively or as spectators, an emotional reaction closely allied to religious exaltation. Not infrequently these feelings express themselves in the very formulae of Christian devotion. When Ulrich is just about to enter a tourney, he receives an unkind message from his lady, and at once falls into a transport of almost demented grief; a fellow-knight who witnesses this outburst flings himself on his knees with words that are an unmistakable parody of the Nunc Dimittis:-

"Vil süezer got, des lob ich dich,
daz dû vor mînem tôde mich
hâst lâzen noch den man gesehen,
dem ich von wârheit mac gejehen,
daz er wîp minne âne kranc ... " [1]

The author of the Tournoi de Chauvency preaches to the knights and ladies assembled after the conclusion of the

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1. Frd. 307,13 - 30.

jousting un sarmons d'armez / Mellé d'amors et de ses charmes. The tone is jesting, but the theme is one dear to the poet's heart, as he himself says, and there is an underlying warmth of conviction in his homily which prevents it from appearing merely profane or frivolous. He opens with a prayer - Benoit soit cui dira amen! - expounds the virtues of true love, exhorts his hearers to follow the example of the great lovers of the past, and ends by distributing pardons in the name of Venus to all penitent transgressors against the commandments of Love.[1]

This homage, which recurs constantly throughout courtly literature, to Venus, Amor, Frau Minne, as sovereign ruler of creation and ultimate source of all goodness is not just a toying with pagan fancies. For chivalric society love, like Christianity, had its history, its tradition, one might almost say its divine plan of salvation; the creed had come down through the centuries, each generation entering on the heritage bequeathed them by the past, and bound to pass on the message intact to posterity; love had moreover its chosen vessels of grace - Dido, Paris, Tristan, Lancelot, and the rest - whose achievements had been recorded for the

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1. Tournoi de Chauvency, 4301-4443.

edification of the elect. In the same way chivalry had its roots in the far distant past and had been handed down through successive ages in one vast unbroken process of transmission; it too had its choice spirits - men like Hector, Alexander, Arthur, Gawain - the chronicle of whose deeds was a pattern and inspiration for all who came after them.[1] Whether in either case the record was literally "true" did not matter greatly. One of the very foundations of medieval religious thought was a sense of interdependence and interpenetration of the visible material order and the unseen spiritual verities. For chivalric culture a similar relationship existed, on a rather lower level - moral and aesthetic rather than theological - between factual truth as embodied in life and poetic truth as embodied in literature.[2] The function of literature was not to imitate life, but to set an ideal standard which life should strive as far as possible to emulate. In literature the ordinary limitations of material existence did not apply. The heroes

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1. For a detailed discussion of this question, see Chapter II.

2. The same thing naturally applies with equal force to the plastic and pictorial arts of chivalry, with which we are here less closely concerned. The sculptures and MS. illuminations of the courtly period are as strongly idealistic in their approach as any literary romance.

and heroines of romance were not hampered by practical duties and responsibilities, they moved in a world of simple, clear-cut issues, a world where good was good and bad, bad, where problems could be worked out to the finish without the distractions and inconclusiveness of real life, a world from which unworthy or jarring elements had been, or could be, eliminated, a world of endless perfectly-timed adventures and noble sentiments set against a social background in which the chivalric ideal of gracious living was realised to the full.

A further point that must have contributed to the popularity of the tournament was the fact that it enabled people to come closer than anywhere else to the model chivalry represented by the company of the Round Table or the paladins of the ancient world. There is plenty of evidence that in the tournament they could, and frequently did, see themselves as characters of romance, entering into the make-believe with the solemn absorption of children.

They would hold Round Tables,[1] they would dress themselves up as knights of Arthur's court, carrying the game so far that they would use their noms-de-guerre even in private among themselves, like Ulrich and his six companions in the Artusfahrt of 1240:-

> Ich sprach ...
> sô bindet helm ûf, her Tristram,
> her Parcifâl und her Îther!
> ich weiz wol, ir bestüent ein her:
> doch nemt zuo iu hern Lanzilet
> und hern Ereck: daz ist mîn bet,
> daz Segramurs ouch mit iu var ... [2]

They would draw up imaginary sets of rules for the tournament purporting to date back to the time of Arthur.[3] They would

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1. There has been much speculation as to the exact nature of these "Round Tables", but it is certain that some of them at least involved masques or pageants in which Arthurian characters were impersonated. At the tournament of Ham in 1278 the part of Guinevere was taken by Marie de Brabant, while Robert Count of Artois - complete with lion - appeared in the role of Yvain and comic relief was provided by a Sir Kay. Many other Round Tables have been recorded, including those held at Hesdin in Flanders in 1235, at Kenilworth in 1279, at Carnarvon in 1284, at Bar-sur-Aube in 1294. See the articles by Ruth Huff Cline, "The Influence of Romances on the Tournaments of the Middle Ages" (Speculum XX, pp. 204ff.) and by R.S. Loomis, "Edward I, Arthurian Enthusiast" (Speculum XXVIII 1953, pp. 114ff.) as well as R.S. Loomis, Chivalric and Dramatic Imitations of Arthurian Romance (Medieval Studies in memory of A.K. Porter, Cambridge, Mass. 1939).

2. Frd., 488,19ff.

3. "La forme quon tenoit des tournoys et assemblees au temps du roy uterpendragon et du roy artus"; see the article by E. Sandoz, "Tourneys in the Arthurian Tradition" (Speculum XIX, pp. 389ff.).

organize tournaments with the trappings of Arthurian legend, like the Grail set up at the Magdeburg tourney of 1281.[1] Or they would copy incidents from other romances, such as the emprise described in Joh. Rothe's Chronicon Thuringiae, where a knight called Waltman von Sättelstedt appeared at a tourney in Merseburg in 1226 accompanied by a richly-dressed girl on a palfrey, a sparrow-hawk and a hound, and challenged all comers to break a lance with him, offering the hound, the hawk, the palfrey and the girl, together with his own armour, as a prize to anyone who succeeded in defeating him.[2] The idea is borrowed directly from the tale of Guy of Warwick, with the very significant difference that in the romance the hero enjoys the love of the princess, whereas at Merseburg the lady could buy herself off on payment of a forfeit in the form of a gold ring. Another real-life emprise conceived in the true spirit of the romances is described by La Colombière:-[3]

> J'ay leu une Emprise d'un Chevalier François (duquel l'histoire, trop negligemment escrite, ne dit pas le nom) qui porta par tout, aux Royaumes de France,

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1. Alwin Schultz, op.cit. II, pp. 117f.
2. Ibid., p. 119.
3. Le vray théâtre d'honneur et de chevalerie, I, p. 19.

> d'Angleterre, d'Escosse et d'Espagne, le portrait de sa Maistresse, sur un Escu, lequel il portait descouvert, et lors qu'il trouvoit quelque Chevalier qui ne vouloit pas confesser qu'elle estoit la plus belle du monde, il fichoit une lance en terre, & y appendoit son Escu & puis joustoit avec une autre lance & se couvroit d'un autre Escu, sur lequel il n'y avoit aucun portrait; Et lors que la fortune lui estoit si favorable qu'il renversoit le Chevalier qui osoit jouster contre luy, le contenu de son Emprise portoit qui le Chevalier vaincu estoit tenu de luy donner le portrait & le nom de sa Maistresse, escrit au dessous avec le sien; que s'il arrivoit que le Chevalier Entreprenant fust renversé, il estoit obligé aux mesmes conditions. estant assuré au reste par le serment et la promesse de sa Maistresse, que lors qu'il reviendroit avec 30 portraits de Dames ou Demoiselles, dont il aura vaincu les Chevaliers, elle luy accorderoit son amour, & le prendroit pour son mary; ce qui fut heureusement executé par le Chevalier dans moins d'un année de temps, ce qui obligea sa Maistresse à le recevoir avec grand honneur & de luy donner la legitime jouissance de sa personne. [1]

The influence of the romances is seen also in all kinds of favourite devices of the tournament - damsels employed as messengers, knights appearing incognito, or under some

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1. These last two examples are particularly interesting in that both run directly counter to the basic principles of courtly love. At Merseburg the girl is provided with a graceful way of escape; the French knight aims at the legitimate possession of his lady in marriage. In such matters the urge to translate romance into reality seems to have been outweighed by more rational considerations or by the dictates of orthodox morality. Nor have I been able to discover a single case where the hand of a girl of noble birth or great wealth was publicly offered as the prize of victory, although this was one of the stock motifs of tournament literature, found, to name only a few instances, in Parzival, Partonopier, Fulk FitzWarin, Rittertreue (GA. No. VI) and Die halbe Birn (GA. No. X). In real life the choice of a husband for an heiress or the daughter of a great noble was a carefully planned affair, much too important to be decided by the hazards of fortune or by the skill of some stray adventurer.

fanciful name, or confusing the spectators by changes of armour, caparison or heraldic blazon. These masquerades, for all their picturesque and ingenious character, may strike us as oddly childish and futile, but for those taking part they must have concealed depths of meaning at which we can only guess.

One fact, however, emerges clearly. Virtually all of them belong to the period when chivalric culture was on the wane. We have already seen that the aspirations embodied in the tournament were not the highest in the knightly code of ideals, but were set on a somewhat lower plane - chevaleresque, as it were, rather than chivalrous. The steadily mounting enthusiasm for the tournament in both France and Germany from the thirteenth century onwards is an unmistakable symptom of decline. One feels that the knightly class, and even their bourgeois imitators, were using it more and more as an escape from the sense of disillusionment and weariness that always sets in when a brilliant cultural movement is past its zenith, as a substitute for the higher obligations of chivalry, as a means of cultivating to the limit the outward forms of chivalry in order to disguise the fact that the inner spirit was decaying, and to prove to themselves and the world that the present was no less glorious than the past. It is in

addition a sign that new values were growing up, more materialistic and superficial than those that had gone before, governed by etiquette and convention rather than vital principles, by manners rather than morals. Idealism was not dead, but the ideals had become shallower and more facile.

8.

"Die ganze Aufmachung der edlen Liebe in Literatur und Gesellschaftsleben erscheint uns oft unerträglich und lächerlich. In den Werken der Vielen, in den gekünstelten Versen, den kostbar arrangierten Turnieren klingt die Leidenschaft nicht mehr nach. Welche Bedeutung aber dies alles - wenn es auch als Literatur oder Kunst minderwertig war - als Lebensschmuck, als Gefühlsausdruck hatte, kann man nur dann ermessen, wenn man ihm die lebendige Leidenschaft wieder einhaucht." 1

What was true of life was equally true of literature. The poets of the second and third generation of chivalry were losing touch with the vision that had inspired their predecessors. Nor had they, with their rather pedestrian talent, the imaginative power and insight to create a fresh vision for themselves, and to re-interpret for their own

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1. J. Huizinga, Herbst des Mittelalters (Stuttgart 1952), p. 79.

day a message that had already been given final and permanent utterance by men far greater than themselves. Like all epigones, they found themselves of necessity looking back, striving to preserve intact whatever of the inherited tradition still remained within their grasp, but adding nothing fundamentally new, except that, in proportion as the world of ideal chivalry receded from their view into shadowy unreality, their eyes turned increasingly to the living reality of the world they saw round them. This growing preoccupation with contemporary life and manners is not, strictly speaking, realism, for it is not based on any coherent theory of literature. It is the result partly of a failure of the creative imagination, partly of social changes, with their inevitable repercussions on literary production, partly of the fact that these lesser men were on a level with their public as the great masters never were, sharing their more commonplace outlook and willing to accommodate themselves to their tastes, in default of any personal standpoint which would raise them above the level of the crowd and establish them as individuals in their own right. For such writers the tournament was the perfect theme. It afforded them unlimited opportunity for going over the old ground, introducing the old characters in the old glamorous mise-en-scène; when their powers of

invention failed, it enabled them to spin out their material with elaborate descriptions of combats, heraldic blazons and jousting equipment, all following strictly conventional lines but capable of endless variation within a narrow range; it enabled them to provide romantic interest of a type for which public demand was strong and growing stronger. At the same time, while setting the action in the world of legendary chivalry they could draw more and more on their own observation of the real life tourneys of their day, and create an appearance of verisimilitude with the minimum of mental exertion. Best of all, the tournament raised none of the fundamental moral or spiritual issues of chivalry, with which neither they nor their public was prepared to grapple. It might involve problems of a social or sentimental nature, but it did not lend itself as a vehicle for expressing a personal philosophy of life.

This is borne out by the comparatively unimportant part played by the tournament in high courtly romance, especially in Germany. Gottfried is frankly indifferent, though he gives Tristan a supreme proficiency in jousting as in every other gentlemanly accomplishment. But Hartmann and Wolfram, both in their different ways knights to the finger-tips, taking their chivalric calling with the utmost seriousness, could not fail to include it within the scope

of their consideration. Wolfram in particular, for whom every aspect of knightly activity held absorbing interest, treats it with great gusto and a wealth of technical detail. And the fascination it exercised over Hartmann - at least in his youth - is revealed not only in the tournament episode in Erec, where the French source has been expanded to more than four times its original length, but also in the manifestly autobiographical scene from Gregorius where the lad in the abbey school tells how his mind is full of dreams of the joust. Still, both of them keep it in a subordinate position and do not allow it to encroach on the central theme of the work in hand. It may be introduced as a prelude to the main action, as in Parzival (and also, very lightly suggested, in Gottfried's Tristan). Or it may be used for purposes of dramatic contrast; the energy and valour displayed by Erec at Tarebron make his subsequent downfall even more striking, and in Parzival the conventional prowess of Gahmuret and Gawain serves as a foil to the spiritual adventures of the hero. Nowhere has it an essential bearing on the course of events.

As the thirteenth century progresses, the tournament comes to figure more prominently in every branch of literature, whether in passing references and isolated episodes or as the principal subject of the work. The later romance writers

seldom fail to include a tourney among the adventures of their hero. The poets of bourgeois origin seem to take a particular delight in it; one thinks of Konrad von Würzburg, with his account of the tournament in Normandy from Engelhard 2463-2879, and the interminable description of the tournament of Schefdeire in Partonopier 13313-17443; or the author of Reinfrid von Braunschweig with the tournament at the court of Denmark, 190-2053.[1] Significantly enough, it is among these men that the Turnierroman is cultivated as a distinct genre, exemplified by Konrad's Turnei von Nantheiz and Heinrich von Freiberg's Ritterfahrt des Herrn Johann von Michelsperg. The tournament even invades the sphere of the heroic epic. In the Nibelungenlied it was there in the background as part of the courtly décor of the narrative, and in Kudrun it appears briefly as an introductory episode, but in Biterolf the tournament at Worms occupies several hundred lines and is plainly one of the highlights of interest. It is true that this furious mass mêlée is, to our eyes, hardly to be distinguished from a serious battle, but the poet explicitly calls it a tourney and uses many of the technical terms of tourneying to

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1. Designated by the poet as ein ritterlich runttâfel.

describe it. The duels in the Rosengarten, too, for all their primitive brutality, are incongruously tricked out with gallantries borrowed from the world of polite jousting such as the rose-wreath and kiss bestowed on the victor by the fairest of ladies. Among the lyric poets Ulrich, of course, stands alone, though we have seen that the tournament motif does occur here and there in the songs of the later Minnesänger. The artist of the Manesse Codex goes even further and depicts a large number of his "subjects" in a tournament milieu: receiving their commission from the lady, like Winli; forging their tilting armour, like Hartmann von Starkenberg, or donning it, like der Schenk von Limburg and Otto von Turne; engaged in actual combat like Walther von Klingen, Wernher von Honberg and der Graf von Anhalt; receiving the prize, like Heinrich von Breslau; or simply on their own in full tournament array, like Ulrich himself, Heinrich von Rugge or Hartmann von Aue. This serious and frequently sentimental preoccupation with the tournament is offset by an occasional note of satire, as when Tannhäuser, ironically enumerating the impossible tasks that the lady has set him as the price of her favours, includes a dig at the waltswenden of his day:-

... unde ich zemâle tûsent sper
vertaete, als mîn her Gahmuret
vor Kamvoleiz mit rîcher tjost,
sô taete diu vrouwe mîne bet:
sus muoz ich haben hôhe kost. [1]

But the very irony itself is an involuntary sign of the extent to which the tournament and all its associations had become an outlet for the romantic impulses of the age.[2] Nowhere else is this shown so clearly as in the Versnovelle, the "maere", which establishes itself firmly in popular favour in the latter part of the thirteenth century. The authors (nearly all anonymous) of these poems use the tournament as one of the most indispensable elements of their stock-in-trade. Von der Hagen's Gesamtabentaer includes several Novellen, such as Rittertreue (VI), Das Auge (XII), Frauentreue (XIII), Der Gurtel (XX), Der Jungherr

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1. V.d. Hagen's Minnesinger (Leipzig 1838), 2, 90, X, 2.

2. In Heinrich von Wittenweiler's Ring the satire takes the form of pure burlesque, the coarse parody which finds its real life counterpart in the mock peasant tourneys staged for the amusement of the upper classes in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. George F. Jones, "The Tournaments of Tottenham and Lappenhausen" (PMLA., LXVI, pp. 1123ff.) shows how the extravagance of the "tournament school" of romance naturally provoked equally exaggerated satire in the opposing camp, who regarded the genteel tourney not only as "insipid and outmoded", but as a perversion of the true nature and function of chivalry.

und der treue Heinrich (LXIV), *Friedrich von Auchenfurt* (LXVII), *Unser Frauen Ritter* (LXXIII), and the charming *Der Frauen Turnier* (XVII), in which the whole action revolves round a tournament; and in others, such as *Die Heidin* (XVIII), it features as one of the main episodes in the plot. Numerous casual allusions to tourneying and jousting are also scattered through these texts, often in quite unexpected contexts, which confirm the general impression that the world of the tournament was never very far from the minds either of the poets or of the public to which they addressed themselves.

Nevertheless, turning to France, one sees that the place occupied by the tournament in literature and life alike was more prominent still. It is not just that in France the whole process of the rise and fall of chivalry took place some decades earlier than in Germany, nor that the chivalric literature of Germany was for the most part based on French models, from the great romances of the Arthurian cycle down to trifling anecdotes.[1] The German poets themselves clearly assume that France and the regions

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1. For instance, *Unser Frauen Ritter* is derived from a French original, *Du chevalier qui ooit la messe et Nostre-Dame estoit pour lui au tournoiement* (Bartsch, *Chrestomathie de l'ancien francais*, 12th edn, 1919, No. 59); both *Frauentreue* and *Friedrich von Auchenfurt* are versions of *Des III. chevaliers et del chainse*, as *Moriz von Craûn* is of *Le chevalier qui recovra l'amor de sa dame*.

closest to French territory are the true home of the tournament. The leading heroes of the joust in the romances, like Gahmuret and Partonopier, are acknowledged to be Frenchmen; the grand tourney in Erec takes place in Brittany;[1] at Nanvoleiz also the scene is laid in France (Wâleis = Valois); Engelhard in Konrad's romance goes to Normandy in quest of tournament exploits; the imaginary tourney of Mantheiz is located in France no less than the historical Ritterfahrt of Johann von Michelsberg; the hero of Rittertrage is French (25f.); the hero of Die Haidin is gesezzen über Rîn (163); the castle in Der Fraun Turnier is verre über jenen Rîn (5); in Biterolf we learn that the Burgundians, die recken von dem Rîne (8304) are superior to all others in the joust because of the unsurpassed opportunities for practice which they enjoy. Literature, in short, confirms what external facts have already indicated; the tournament in Germany remained essentially an imported fashion, carefully fostered but in many respects at variance with native culture, whereas in France it was simply part of the normal business of aristocratic life.

It is significant that in France the tournament does not suffer, to anything like the same degree as in Germany,

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1. Hartmann has altered the names, but in Chrétien's Erec 2131: Antre Evroïc et Tenebroc their Breton character is at once apparent.

from those divergent extremes of mood with which people always tend to react towards a fashion borrowed from abroad. It does not slip over the border-line into farce or into grotesque over-refinement; it does not lapse into outgrown barbarianism or pander to the craving of the mob for sensation and violence; it is too much in harmony with its environment even to be a target for satire and burlesque;[1] there is no French equivalent of Lappenhausen, or Biterolf, or even (as far as I have been able to discover) of the German sack and bucket tourneys of real life. In France the tournament is not beset and challenged by alien trends of thought and feeling in the society into which it is introduced, because it is on its own native ground. On the other hand, this very circumstance made it specially apt for purposes of allegory. Tournament allegory is not unknown in Germany (we have already quoted Des Teufels Netz) but it is far more common in France, where words and ideas connected with tourneying seem to have been absorbed into popular consciousness to such an extent that they came as though unbidden to the mind, suggesting all kinds of

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1. The French Tournoiement des Dames, which exists in three versions (Boussuat, Manuel bibliographique de la litt. française du moyen age, Paris 1951, Nos. 2633-5) is an amusing jest rather than a piece of serious satire. The single German poem which treats this theme is itself largely influenced by French traditions.

comparisons and analogies in the sphere of religion or morals which were worked out with considerable ingenuity and which doubtless, in view of the widespread appeal of the subject, did not fail in their effect.[1] There are works like the Tournoiement d'Antichrist[2] and the Tournoiement d'Enfer;[3] there is Jacques de Vitry's catalogue of the seven deadly sins of the joust, and even as early as 1146 the crusading song "Chevalier mult estes guariz"[4] makes use of this motif:-

V 49 Deus ad un turnei entrepris
Entre Enfern et Pareis,
Si mande trestuz ses amis,
Cil ki lui volent guarantir,
Qu'il ne li seient pas failliz.

This eager interest betrays itself most fully in what one may call the specialist literature of the tourney.

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1. Images drawn from the tourney were even applied in the world of nature, as when Alexander in his submarine vessel of glass sees the fish tornoier et ioster,/ Et metre lor aguaiz et sovent cembeler. (Roman d'Alexandre in Bartsch, Chrestomathie No. 36,42f. This passage is not included in the MS. used by H. Michelant for his edition of 1846.

2. Boussuat, op.cit. Nos. 3516, 3517, 6407 (Supplement).

3. Ibid., No. 3518.

4. Fr. Gennrich, Altfranzösische Lieder I (Halle 1953), No. 1.

The men who wrote about Ham and Chauvency were not, as in the Turnei von Nantheiz, describing imaginary events, nor, as in the Ritterfahrt des Johann von Michelsperg, relying on hearsay, nor, as in Frauendienst, giving free rein to their powers of romantic invention. They wrote as eye-witnesses, and in their accounts, for all their frank revelling in magnificence and ceremony, they are realistic enough to take particular pains about technical details. In other words, they are interested in the tournament for its own sake, not just because of the things for which it stands. It was the same passion for technicalities that led more than one French writer to compile manuals of real or fanciful rules for the conduct of the joust.[1]

But a study of the romances and other works of chivalric fiction in France reveals the same preoccupation. Already in the twelfth century we find romances with tournament episodes, like Partonopeus de Blois,[2] which had to wait a hundred years for a German translator. The two romances of Chrétien which devote most space to the tourney -

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1. One might mention the Livre des Tournois of René d'Anjou (ed. Champollion-Figeac - Dubois, Paris 1826) or the treatise La forme qu'on tenoit des tournoys au temps ... du roy artus (ed. Alphonse de Blangy, Caen 1897).

2. Ed. G.A. Crapelet, Paris 1834.

Le Chevalier à la Charrette and Cliges[1] - did not attract the attention of any of the great masters of the classical period and only made their way into Germany after the zenith of chivalric culture was past. Again in the lais of Marie de France there are many passing allusions to the tournament, whose casual tone is in itself an indication of the way in which it had already come to be taken for granted. Thus in Le Fraisne Gurun meets the heroine on his way back from a tournament - 259f.: A un turneiement ala / Par l'abeie returna - although this circumstance has no relevance whatsoever to the action except in so far as it provides the most natural explanation of how the knight came to be riding by. In Chrétien's Yvain hardly more than a dozen words suffice to account for the defection of the hero - 2670f.: Car as tornois s'an vont andui,/ Par toz les leus ou l'an tornoie - whereas Hartmann expands this brief statement into a lengthy disquisition in which the actual fact of tourneying is quite overshadowed by the moral issue at stake.

In the contes or courtly fabliaux, which correspond

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1. A version of the Cliges romance (now lost) was composed by Konrad Fleck, c.1215-20; it was probably on the basis of this work that Thomasin von Zirclaere in his Welscher Gast 1042 recommends the example of Cliges, together with that of other heroes of Arthurian romance, as models for the younger generation of knighthood.

to and largely served as model for, the German *rittermaere*, the tournament figures constantly, either as a main ingredient in the action, as in *Guillaume au Faucon*, *Les .III. chevaliers et la chainse*, and *Le chevalier qui recevra l'amor de sa dame*, or as a recurrent background motif, as in *Le vair palefroi*,[1] *Le chevalier, la dame et le clerc*, *Le prestre et le chevalier*, and others. It appears also, though to a lesser degree, in such characteristically French genres as the *chanson d'histoire*, with *Bele Doette* or *Ydoine et Garsiles*, and even the *pastourelle*, as when the knight sings in the *Jeu de Robin et de Marion*:-[2]

9 Je me repairoie du tornoiement,
Si trouvai Marote seule au cors gent ...

The *romans mondains* and *romans d'aventure*[3] are of particular interest in this connexion. In nearly every case (the principal exceptions being *La Chastelaine de Vergy* and *La comtesse d'Anjou*) the love intrigue is so constructed as to necessitate at least one tournament episode, which is

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1. Ed. A. Långfors (Class. fr. d.m.a., Paris 1927, 3rd edn.)
2. Ed. E. Langlois (Class. fr. d.m.a., Paris 1924)
3. These works are discussed in detail in Chapter II, 1, section 4, where full bibliographical references to all the works mentioned here are given.

described in lively and convincing detail and which plainly gave as much pleasure to the poet as to his audience.

Furthermore, these episodes are without exception set in the frontier regions of east and north-east France or in Flanders - that is, in those areas to which we have so often had occasion to allude when discussing the provenance of our text and its French source. The tournament of Ham takes place in the Péronne district and that of Chauvency is probably to be assigned to the neighbourhood of Montmédy in Lorraine; the tournaments of Guillaume de Dole are located at Tref-sur-Meuse (Maastricht) and St. Trond, those of Galeran de Bretagne at Metz and between Châlons and Rheims, those of Le chastelain de Coucy at La Fère near Laon and Corbie on the Somme, those of Sone de Nansay at Châlons, at Montargis, and elsewhere in the Lorraine and Champagne area, those of Flamenca at Louvain and elsewhere in Flanders, those of Joufrois, Le chevalier blanc and Le chevalier à la manche at Tonnerre (Yonne), Toul on the Moselle and Thiérache on the Oise respectively. In one instance, that of Galeran, the action is laid first in western France and then shifts eastward when the hero sets out to make a name for himself as a jouster and like Moriz von Craûn

279 turnieren in die marke quan.

It was not only from the West that they came to the marches to joust. From the other side of the frontier too the knights of the Empire flocked to those lands _verre über jenen Rîn_ which were universally acknowledged to be the home of the tourney, the training-ground par excellence for all who wished to perfect their skill, the place where past-masters of the sport could always count on finding a worthy opponent for their lance, with unequalled prospects of fame and riches for the victor.

We know that this was so from the historical records of the time, and the evidence from Germany itself, in courtly romance or _rittermaere_, merely confirms the fact. But no branch of literature in either country portrays these contacts between French and German knights so frequently or so convincingly as the _roman mondain_, where it is virtually taken for granted that at every big tournament _les Tyois_, _les Alemans_, will be among those taking part. National prejudice was as strong then as now, and the picture is none too sympathetic. From their vantage-point of seniority in everything pertaining to chivalry the French knights looked down on their confreres from Germany as uncivilised barbarians. The Germans (they say) have no sense of humour - _Tiois ne savent sofrir nul_

gan,[1] they make a fiendish noise when they sing - Tiex chantent com maufé,[2] they are boorish in company - 'Faudra mès ce jusqu'a demain?'[3] asks one of them, when the evening's entertainment is in full swing; they are boastful, orgueillos, but no match for the chivalry of France, and their discomfiture is brought home to them by ironical taunts - Se sommez mauvès, Alemant / Certes sont vaillans gens assez.[4] In Guillaume de Dole the German Emperor is presented in glowing terms, but the poet adds that such a man is worth a bushel of his latter-day successors.[5] The inhabitants of Alsace come off rather better. Sone de Nansay comes from Alsace (Nansay, Nausay = Nambsheim, near Neu-Breisach), and he bears a Teutonic name - J'ai non Sones, non d'Alemaingne.[6]

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1. Partenopeus, 8755f.
2. Guillaume de Dole, 2160.
3. Ibid., 2397.
4. Galeran, 5088f.
5. Guillaume de Dole 56f.
6. Sone de Nansay 2091. In the person of this fictitious hero of romance we can observe both those traits which we may, with a good deal of probability, attribute to the author of Moriz von Craûn - Alsatian origin, and first-hand experience of French tournaments.

In the Tournoi de Chauvency the Alsatian Conrad Warnier is, in spite of his odd broken French, treated with the respect due to an equal. Nevertheless, he is still unmistakably an outsider.[1]

This element of national rivalry may have been less bitter than appears on the surface. It may even have lent additional zest to the mock warfare of the tourney, and certainly it does not seem to have diminished the eagerness of the German knights to try their skill on French soil. The constant intercourse between Frenchmen and Germans on the tilting-field must have favoured literary exchanges as well, and suggests a very natural explanation for the transmission across the border of a tournament tale like Moriz von Craun. The theme must have been sufficiently popular along the eastern marches of France to inspire not only the lost original of the German poem, but also the fabliau which offers a closely related, though not identical version of the same story. At some point - perhaps in Lorraine or Franche-Comté - it then caught the fancy of a German, possibly an Alsatian, knight, who took it home with him and commissioned a translation into his native language, or even tried his own hand at versifying, making, as he himself admits, heavy work of it. It is only an unlucky

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1. There are many other references to German knights in Chauvency, e.g. 826, 1515, 1857.

chance that his actual source has disappeared, while the *fabliau* and the German redaction have survived the hazards of MS. tradition.

II. THE TOURNAMENT IN "MORIZ VON CRAÛN"

1.

Hie wil ich sagen was mir geschach,
daz ich mit minen ougen sach ... [1]

When we come to consider the tournament episode in Moriz von Craûn in the light of the foregoing pages, this basis of personal familiarity is at once apparent. Though, as we shall see, almost every one of his statements can be paralleled from independent sources such as those quoted in the earlier sections of this chapter, there is nothing derivative or conventional about the way in which the German poet has handled his material. His account has a firm ring of truth about it, and it is impossible not to feel that here at least he is writing from experience, recording things actually seen and heard at first hand from the standpoint of his own individual reaction to them. Nor is his narrative muddled or repetitive, as some scholars have suggested.[2] On the contrary, the successive incidents are presented in clear and logical sequence, as the following summary will

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1. Meier Helmbrecht 7f.

2. E.g. Karl Stackmann in his dissertation on Moriz von Craûn, pp. 116 and 120.

show:-

The first step in the planning of a tournament was to have it proclaimed far and wide, in order to ensure the maximum attendance. This was usually done by squires or heralds (garzûne 622) hired for the purpose.[1] Next the necessary equipment had to be assembled. On this occasion the primary task was the building and fitting out of the ship (627-96).[2] When the time for departure draws near (697) the ship is manned by a company of retainers all dressed alike in their master's livery (701-04),[3] and an immense number of lances is carried on board (705-08). Of these, three hundred are decorated to harmonize with the general scheme, their shafts being painted to match the mast (712) and their pennants matching the sail, that is, apparently, displaying Moriz' armorial bearings (713-18).[4] Some, if not all, of these decorated lances would presumably be designed to fit into the holes cut in readiness all round the edge of the deck (645-48). In addition there are a

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1. Cf. Le chevalier qui recovra l'amor de sa dame, 42ff.: Puis ont as chevaliers de pris / Mandé et proié qu'il i soient;/ Ensi par lo pais envoient, and Konrad v.Würzburg, Partonopier 19189ff. Further examples are quoted in Schultz, op.cit. II, pp. 119f.

2. Full discussion of this important passage is reserved for a separate chapter.

3. See below, pp.416f., and earlier p.257, where examples are quoted from Frauendienst, Erec and Reinfrid von Braunschweig.

4. See above, pp.318f., where examples are quoted from Frauendienst and Parzival.

number of plain lances (719) which are held in reserve, to be used only when all the painted ones have been broken.[1]

As the ship travels towards the place appointed for the tourney (755-57) high and low, old and young come flocking out to see it (758-61).[2] When at length he arrives at his destination, Moriz comes to a halt on the usual green sward before the castle (762f.),[3] disembarks (764f.) and sets up his luxurious tent over a

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1. This interpretation of the passage links the blanc of 719 with the blanken of 1015, and presupposes a lacuna of at least two lines before 719, in which the diu is taken as referring not to the plural of baniere but to a missing plural of sper. The differentiation between the plain and the painted lances in this context is borne out not only in the phrase von den anderen gesundert in 710, but by Parzival VII, 96ff: si fuorten gein ir nitspil / wîgeniuwer sper ein wunder;/ diu gemâlt wâren besunder / junchêrrn gegeben in die hant.

2. Cf. Frauendienst 166, 32-167,1: bî mir was liute wol ein her. Sie wâren dar durch schoven komen. In the phrases ritter unde frouwen, grâven unde kint we can perhaps catch a glimpse of the original French text on which these lines are based. A very similar passage is found in Marie de France, Lanval, 587ff.: Il n'ot el burc petit ne grant,/ ne li veillard ne li enfant,/ ki ne l'alassent esguarder,/ si cum il la virent errer.

3. Cf. Frd. 68,20ff.: Alzehant ich slahen bat / für die stat verre ûf daz velt / wol zehen hütte und ein gezelt. This open stretch of grass was also known as the plân; cf. Turnei von Nantheiz 99, Parzival II, 28f.

spring of water (766f.).[1] At once all the townsfolk gather round joyously to admire his equipage (768-72),[2] and he sets about holding an open reception for all and sundry (781-94),[3] including the minstrels who swarm in and around the tent in a solid mass (795-800).[4] After nightfall has set in (801) his encampment is illuminated by so many candles that to the watchers in the castle they appear like a single blaze as though a barn were on fire (802-06).[5]

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1. Cf. Parzival V, 1634f.: ûber eins prunnen ursprinc / stuont ir poulûn ûf dem plân, and Partonopier 13276ff: ein herberc und ein obedach / was ime alde gewunnen / bî einem kalten brunnen,/ dâ grüene boume stuonden obe;/ ein pavilûne wol ge lobe / was im geslagen ûf daz velt.

2. See above, pp. 258ff. The simile of the wildez tier also occurs in the Ritterfahrt des Johann v. Michelsperc 148ff.: Dô wol nâch ritterlichen sitten / der helt zu velde was gereit,/ die liute nâch gewonheit,/ kint, man unde vrouwen,/ liefen zu durch schouwen / den helden lobebêre,/ sam ob dar kumen wêre / ein tier ûz einer wilde.

3. See above, p. 263 , for quotations from the Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal and the writings of Jacques de Vitry.

4. See above, p. 262 , for many references to minstrels at the tournament.

5. See above, pp. 316f. , for examples from the Roman de l'escoufle, Guilleume de Dole, Frauendienst, Erec and Parzival. The curious phrase als dâ brunne ein schiuwer, so strongly reminiscent of the corresponding French lines Sambloit que la meison arsist, Lors sembla qu'en la vile arsist, may offer us a further glimpse of the original source, the image of the barn (schiuwer) being probably dictated by the need for a rhyme to fiuwer.

On the following morning his hospitality is restricted to those knights who intend to participate in the tourney, and is rather more select in character. All gather at the ship to hear Mass (811-815),[1] which is followed by the customary pre-tournament breakfast of chicken washed down with wine (818f.).[2] After the meal they retire to arm themselves (822-4).

As soon as he has leisure to attend to his own affairs (825f.) Moriz also begins to put on his armour. The order in which the various items are enumerated both here and later (842ff.) is so sensible and logical that it must correspond tolerably well to real life. First comes the

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1. It was the invariable custom to celebrate Mass before a tournament, often with much formal ceremony and display. Among many examples one could cite Erec 661ff., Reinfrid v. Braunschweig 1446ff., Frauendienst 82,1ff., Partonopier 14046f., Turnei v. Nantheiz 252ff.

2. This repast was part of the ritual of the occasion. It was known variously as the imbiz (Erec 667), the turneischer imbiz (Lanzelet 3098), ein edel mursel (Partonopier 14147), ein klein pittimanziere (Reinfrid v. Braunschweig 732). The last two terms clearly indicate the French origin of the custom. That this "snack", which had to be at once nourishing and light, normally consisted as here of chicken and wine is confirmed by Erec 8648ff., Meleranz 9652ff., and the miniature of Hartmann von Starkenberg in the Manesse Codex, where the knight is shown getting ready his tilting-armour, while a lady-in-waiting brings him a goblet of wine and a roast chicken in a dish.

underdoublet of Bugeran (827f.),[1] then knee-guards of soft felt (829-31).[2] Over these are laced tightly the hose or chausses of mail, made specially light, so as not to weigh him down in action (833-36);[3] the curious line er fuor in schricken als ein tier may mean that he actually executes a few practice leaps to test his mobility in the chausses.[4] Then the belt (lendenier) is buckled on

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1. The wambas corresponds to the perpoint of Flamenca 7011. Bugeran is also mentioned in Parzival XII, 165 as being used for a shirt and breeches given to Gawan by his hosts by way of a change of linen, and in Frauendienst 79,20 it is used as an inexpensive alternative to fine fabrics such as taffeta, so we must assume that it was not stiff, like the modern buckram, but a soft material of wool or possibly goat's hair, very suitable for wearing under mail to prevent chafing.

2. Some form of knee-protection was essential before the days of the tilting barrier. There are many allusions in Frauendienst (e.g. 74,16; 84,28; 95,28; 277,10ff.; 496,22ff.) to more or less severe knee-injuries sustained as the combatants charged past each other at close quarters in the open field. The use of felt for this purpose is not attested elsewhere in German literature, and may be derived from the French source. Cf. Antoine de la Sale, Traité des anciens tournois (publ. Prost 1878), where we read that armour sera bien affeutré pour etre plus doulx et pour la rouille de fer contre la chair.

3. Cf. Parzival V, 1128 where Orilus' armour is said to be rich und doch niht swære, and Frd. 300,16f.: zwô isenhosen schîr,/ die kunden liehter niht gesîn.

4. For this image of the stag, cf. Parzival II, 173: dô fuor er springende als ein tier (used of a man leaping for joy), and Reinfrid v. Braunschweig 892f.: man sach diu ors ersprîngen / sam in dem walde hirzetier, or 1011: daz lief in sprungen sam ein tier.

(838-40) and the chausses attached to it.[1] Next a leather or padded coif (huot), to be worn under the hood of the hauberk, is put on and pulled well down over the forehead, so that the metal shall not scratch the skin (841-4).[2] Lastly the mail hauberk which covered body and head alike is donned and firmly strapped in place (845-8).

Having thus completed the first stage in the process of putting on his armour, Moriz takes up his stance with a few chosen attendants on the deck of the ship (849-51). A squire leads up one of his destriers ready caparisoned (verdaht - 852f.), and the remainder are led to a near-by knoll to be kept in reserve till needed (854-6). This horse, picked for its good looks and strength (857), is hidden inside the ship (858) to be ready to hand for the hero's first entry into the tournament.[3] Moriz then

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1. This belt was the only means of holding the leg-armour up, and if it came to grief in the fighting the consequences were disastrous. Examples of such mishaps are given in Schultz, op.cit. II, pp. 34f.

2. For references to the coif, or batwât, see Schultz, op.cit. II, pp. 51,55f.

3. Pretzel believes that the order of the lines in the passage 849-59 is corrupt in the MS. and has re-arranged them drastically in his edition of the text. Though there is a little clumsiness of expression, due most probably to the exigencies of the rhyme, I feel that the lines make perfectly adequate sense as they stand.

strikes camp and moves off towards the castle walls in a beautifully-contrived procession to the accompaniment of music (859-72).[1] From her place in the turret window[2] hard by the castle gate (873-80) the countess, accompanied by her ladies, sees the ship approaching and her excitement and sense of importance pass all bounds (880-90).[3] Her lover steers the ship to the foot of this tower, so that she can witness his exploits,[4] and "drops anchor", i.e. takes up his final position (891-4). This is a signal for the tourney to start (895); the two opposing teams of knights take the field (896f.) and charge each other

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1. For this cavalcade, see pp. 258ff. above, and pp. 513ff. in the section on the ship.

2. See above, p. 331 for many references both in French and German literature to ladies watching the tournament from the windows of their castles or palaces.

3. See above, p. 335, note 2.

4. By placing her turret window near the castle gate, the poet also ensures that she will be an eye-witness of the slaying of the knight by her husband (905); cf. La chevalier qui recovre l'amor de sa dame 79ff.: Et quant la dame a ce vëu / Qu'a son seignor est meschëu,/ D'une partie en fu dolante,/ De l'autre mout li atalante / Que ses amis l'a si bien fait.

in splendid style (der puneiz wart rîche 898).[1] As soon as the fighting begins the count emerges from the castle to join in with the rest (900f.) but the press of the crowd round him is such that he has not sufficient room to manoeuvre his lance properly, and he has the misfortune to kill one of the knights by accident before the very eyes of his wife (901-6).[2] Both the count and his lady

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1. The puneiz, or set charge with the lance which preceded the hand to hand encounter, is often singled out in this way for special admiration. E.g. Frd. 83,32: hie wirt ein ritterlich puneiz, and 84,15f.: ez mag ein puneiz hie geschehen,/ daz in got selbe möhte sehen. Not only must it have been a very handsome spectacle in itself, but it was practically the only feature of the mass tournament into which some semblance of order and ceremony could be instilled.

2. The correct order of the lines in this passage has been much disputed. In the MS. lines 901-4 are placed before 895, and thus refer to Moriz and the ship rather than to the count. This makes, on the whole, good sense, and there is much to be said for it. Pretzel would place 901-4 before 899, making 902 refer to Moriz and 903f., in a considerably emended form, to the assembly of knights, which seems unnecessarily complicated. For the purposes of this study, Schroeder's text has been retained, where the disputed lines 901-4 account for, and excuse, the slaying of the knight. This interpretation is supported up to a point by Frauendienst, where we often hear of tourneying knights being so hemmed in by the throngs of spectators that they cannot move freely in the crush (e.g. 261,25ff., 175,10ff.). At Neustadt Ulrich fences off the arena with a silken cord tied to lances, to prevent this kind of obstruction (480,25ff.). However, the passage remains very debatable. The text of Le chevalier qui recovra l'amor de sa dame gives us no clue, though the line Que vous feroie plus lonc plait? (84) corresponds closely to MvO.901: Was hilfet daz ichz lenge? The plot of the fabliau differs considerably from that of Moriz von Craûn at this point, for the slayer of the knight is not the lady's husband in the French poem, and the only mishap which befalls the count is to be unhorsed by the hero himself.

are deeply grieved at this calamity (907-12). In accordance with chivalric etiquette he at once lays down his arms (913) amid general regret (914) and retires sorrowing from the field (915-7). The rules of courtesy demand that the rest of the company shall follow his example and bring the tourney forthwith to an end.[1] That they do not do so, and in this way offend against the laws of both knightly honour and Christian charity,[2] is the fault of Moriz, who is still on the ship when the accident occurs and has hitherto taken no part in the fighting. For him the abandoning of the tournament before he himself has been given any opportunity to display his prowess means the wastage of all his trouble and expense and spells disaster to his ambitions. He calls out to them from the ship and begs them not to break off the fighting (921-26). The knights, only too glad of an excuse to continue their

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1. See above, pp. 277f. for examples from both France and Germany of tournaments being stopped because of the death of one of the participants.

2. Pretzel would emend sünde in 918 to suone. However, the correctness of the MS. reading is guaranteed by the words used in the French fabliau to describe the death of the knight: Mout avoient bien comencié / A tornoier tuit. cant pechié / Lor corut sor et encombrier,/ Que mort i ot un chevalier (85ff.). It may even be that the French source of our text used pechié in the less common (and therefore to the German poet unfamiliar) sense of "ill-fortune" (cf. the Tristan of Béroul, ed. A. Ewert, Oxford 1939, 720, 1412ff., 1550).

favourite sport, are most willing to be persuaded; they all agree that the death of one man is a very inadequate reason for stopping the tourney[1] before it has fairly begun (927-30). The soul of the dead man is briefly commended to St Michael (931-33) and the contest is resumed, to Moriz' intense satisfaction (904).[2]

The fighting now begins in earnest (935-38).[3] When Moriz sees this (939-41) he makes ready for a superb delayed entrance into the mêlée.[4] First he puts on the remainder of his armour. Over the haubark comes an outer

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1. The word verderben in connexion with the stopping of a tournament also occurs in Frd. 494,31f.: Er muoz von hinnen, daz ist wâr:/ sô verdurbe der turney gar.

2. Gir or ger (an image borrowed in the first instance from falconry) is often used by Ulrich to denote the passionate eagerness of knights for the joust, e.g. Frd. 69,1ff.: ir sült fürr wâr gelouben mir;/ die naht wir lâgen in der gir:/ wir gerten als diu vederspil, or 262,1ff.: Den biderben den was gegen mir ger,/ vil ofte ir dri ranten her / mit einander gegen mir;/ sô grôz was dâ ir tvoste gir.

3. Whereas the munsiz (898) and the stechen (933) imply the preliminary attack with lances, gluoc und stach (940) shows that the two teams have now closed with one another and are using swords as well.

4. In the same way Gahmuret at Kanvoleiz bides his time before joining in the contest (Parzival II, 311ff.); see also pp.290f.above.

doublet, the wambasel (942f.),[1] over that again an ample surcoat emblazoned with his coat of arms (944-50) and last of all he dons his crested[2] tilting-helmet (951-55).[3] Thus fully arrayed he presents a truly royal spectacle (956-58). His white charger is led out, ready capariscned, for him to mount (959-64), he has the ship turned towards the point where the clash of arms is loudest (965-67) and comes riding alone out of the little door cut ready in the prow (968-71). Some of his squires come running up, each

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1. The wambasel (MS. wammesse) seems to have been an outer doublet worn over the hauberk either with a surcoat as here, or as an alternative to it, as in Crône 18205f.: ein wambeis sol dar über sîn,/ oder ein wâfenroc sîdîn. It corresponds to the garbaisos of Flamenca 7011, which is distinguished from the under doublet or perpoinz. Schultz, op.cit. II, p. 57, quotes an example of an ouer wanbasun of fur with a golden lion emblazoned on it. But as the wambasel in this passage has a gleaming surface (verre man ez schînen sach 943) it may have been made of gilded leather, corresponding to the cuirie of Sone de Nansay 6957. In any case its function was both protective and decorative.

2. Possibly one should read gezimieret (crested) for gewieret (adorned with inlay or enamel work) in 953. Cf. Partonopier 14175f.

3. The helmet was only put on when combat was actually imminent; in the same way it was the first thing to be removed when the fighting was over. Ulrich relates how on one occasion during the Artusfahrt he could tell that something had gone wrong because he saw the knights on the opposing side remove their helmets, and he at once sent a messenger across to find out what had happened (Frd. 500,22ff.).

carrying one or two lances (975-77)[1] and then (the poet says) the tournament really does begin! (978).[2]

He catches up his shield (979), selects a lance (980), drives spurs into his horse (981), and charges into the mêlée with the force of an eagle attacking a flock of small birds (982-4).[3] Ten opponents are unhorsed in rapid

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1. One of the tasks of the squire was to keep his master supplied with lances. Cf. Frd. 72,2ff.: ich selbe zwelft der knehte mîn:/ der sol ieslîcher füeren her / in sîner hand mit mir ein sper, and Brec 2506f.: er fünf knaben zuo im nam,/ der ieglîcher fuorte driu sper.

2. A similar situation occurs in the Turnei von Nantheiz, where the fighting, though it has been going on already for some time, is given a new impetus by the arrival of fresh forces from outside: dô wart ein turnei hin genomen,/ daz vor sô herter nie geschach (982f.).

3. The phrase freude âne zorn (MS. freude on zorn) in line 982 may well be corrupt. It has been variously emended to vreide âne zorn and Vreise âne zorn, and the use of freude in connexion with tournament combat is admittedly rather difficult to explain. However, parallels can be found in Frd., as for instance in 168,9f., where the podestà of Treviso is giving permission for Ulrich to hold a joust in the city; Er sprach: 'ich were iu freuden niht:/ swelch freude wns âne schaden geschiht', or again in 492,19f., where, after a particularly violent tournament description, we read: Mit disen freuden ende nam / der tac. Pretzel's emendation of the whole line to dô hâte er vreisamen zorn seems to have little to commend it. The word zorn is used quite often in the poem (e.g. 1227, 1422, 1455, 1535) and always with the idea of genuine displeasure or indignation, whereas the whole point of this line is that Moriz' onslaught, in spite of its fierceness, is âne zorn, only mock fury. The simile of the eagle and the small birds is one of the stock comparisons of medieval battle descriptions. The oldest example in German is in Graf Rudolf (ed. Kraus MHD. Ubungsbuch, 1st edn. Heidelberg 1911, No. 4) fragment Fb, lines 10ff., but it is also found in Lanzelet 3305f., Partonopier 15952ff., Frd. 92,11f., and 93,20f., etc.

succession (985-95),[1] and no one can stand before him (996), so that there is a whole drove (stuot) of riderless horses roaming about the field (997-1000).[2] When one of his horses becomes overheated (1001f.) he takes a fresh mount and gives the old one away to anyone who happens to be standing by (1003-06).[3] This generous gesture adds lustre to the renown he has already gained by his prowess (1007-10).

Eventually, in obedience to the commands laid upon him by the lady (1011) when their mutual compact was sealed (dô in sîn frouwe kuste 1014), he breaks all his painted lances ze rehte juste (1012f.) and even has to fall back

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1. A similar rapid enumeration of ten separate combats in as many lines occurs in Turnei von Nantheiz 1068-77.

2. See above, p. 264 . This detail occurs frequently in tournament descriptions. E.g. Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal 2758ff.: (Lors veist l'om) Maint cheval a baucen e bai / Fuïr par le champ estraier; Marie de France, Chaitivel 101f.: Il n'ourent cure des destriers,/ Ainz les laissierent estraiers; Erec, 2445ff.: Menneclîch diu ros sach / dâ er die ritter von stach,/ dâ si dâ liefen hin und her; Wigalois (Ed. J.M.N. Kapteyn, Rheinische Beiträge 9, Bonn 1926) 484f.: diu ros liefen ledic dâ / als ein stuot waer ûz geslagen.

3. Cf. Erec 2594f.: schilt und ors gap er hin;/ ûf ein anders er gesaz, and 2633ff.: als er von dem rosse gesaz,/ ein soldiere nam daz,/ und seite ims gemâde unde danc, and again 2782ff.: nu erbeizt von sînem rosse sâ / der tugenthafte Erec,/ unde gap daz enwec./ ûf daz fünfte er dô saz:/ bereite was im daz.

on the plain ones as well (1015).[1] His lady had good reason to be grateful to him (1016) for never did a knight receive such acclaim as he did on that occasion from both sides (1017-20).[2] Had he been an unbaptized infidel, no

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1. The order of lines 1011-20 has been altered by Pretzel in his edition of the text, though in his most recent contribution to the subject (see the Bibliography) he has reverted to the MS. reading. By emending planken (MS. planckhen) in 1015 to schranken, and by placing 1013-14 (MS. aller gerechter juste. da in / sein fraw kuste) after 1020, he gave an entirely new sense to the lines, namely that after the fighting is over Moriz goes up to the barrier (schranken) and receives a kiss from the countess by way of prize. There are several objections to this proposed reading. Firstly, there is no mention of lists or barriers having been built for this tournament, which, as one would expect from the date, appears to have taken place on open ground; the phrase im ringe (990) does not necessarily imply a fenced-off arena, but simply an area cleared of spectators for the contest, as in Frd. 261,29. Secondly, there is no suggestion that the countess is summoned down from her turret window to bestow a kiss on the victor - the line dô in sîn frouwe kuste is rather to be linked with durch der frouwen bete (1011) as referring back to the formal embrace of the lovers in 614-17. Lastly, the expression ze rehter juste is meaningless when placed after 1020; whereas in its original position it follows on the verb vertaete, and we know from other sources that ze rehter juste vertuon was a technical term of the joust (e.g. Erec 2508f.: diu selben (sper) vertete er / ze rehter just unde bar). Wiedner, op.cit., pp.52f. gives numerous examples of the expression ze rehter just used in a similar context. I therefore see no reason for altering the order of the lines in the MS. though the parenthesis in 1014 is admittedly rather clumsy.

2. Von beiden sîten prîs hân (to be acclaimed by both teams alike as the hero of the day) is another technical term of the tournament. Cf. Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal 5591f.: Si que trestuit cil qui i èrent / De deus parz le pris lui donèrent; Cliges 2957: Qui de deus parz le pris an porte; Erec 2472f.: Erec den prîs gewan / des âbents ze beiden sîten; Frd. 100,13: er hete den brîs ze bêder sît.

one who saw him that day would have refused to give him his due meed of honour (1021-24).[1]

After this he whirls round the field (er fuor umbe als ein bal 1025),[2] ordering it to be proclaimed that all who desire largesse are to present themselves at the ship to receive it (1025-28).[3] There, as long as daylight lasts, he distributes everything that he has brought with him, giving to each man whatever takes his fancy (1029-31).

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1. Pretzel would omit 1021-24 as a later interpolation. But see Hans Naumann "Der wilde und der edle Heide" (Ehrismann-Festgabe, Berlin-Leipzig 1925) where the whole question of this and similar passages is discussed in detail.

2. The image of the ball flying from hand to hand is quite common in MHG. literature; e.g. Wingbekin 8,4f.: swelch wîp ir ougen ûf, getal,/ und über treit als einen bal; Gottfried's Tristan 1025ff.: dô ich ... sînen ... prîs / mit lobe gehœrte in ballen wîs / als umbe trîben und tragen, and again in 11366f.: si triben in mit spotte / umbe und umbe als einen bal; Heinrich von Morungen 131,23f.: unde in doch als einen bal / mit bœsen worten umbe slânt. But in this particular context the effect is comical to the point of burlesque. See below, p. 455.

3. Cf. Parzival II, 103ff.: ich was sînen (i.e. Gahmuret's) knappen bî:/ ... si jehent, swer habe geruochc,/ op der ir hêrren suoche,/ den scheid' er von swaere.

In the evening, he retires to his tent after all the exertions of the day (1032-35). As a culminating gesture of milte the ship (now presumably standing abandoned) is handed over to the garzûne to be dismantled and shared out among them (1040-45). Ten successive recipients of this bounty are enumerated, corresponding to the ten adversaries who feel the effects of the hero's valour in the tourney itself (1046-57), and the poet at length takes his leave of the ship with a final tribute of admiration (1058-60).

When the assembly has broken up (1061) one of the knights who has been taken prisoner in the course of the tourney comes up and begs for a gift (1062).[1] Moriz, having now nothing else to give, takes off his hauberk and offers it to the man, who accepts it gratefully (1064-66). Having resumed his outer doublet for warmth (1067-69), he at once asks whether there is anyone who would like to have the chausses too, but there are no takers (1070-73). It is while he is in the very act of removing his chausses (1074f.) and is sitting alone in his tent - his retinue having temporarily vanished from the scene to avoid being caught up in this orgy of munificence (1076-81) - that the messenger

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1. In his Introduction to the 1894 edition of Moriz von Craûn, p. XXVII, Schroeder derives the phrase ein man gevangen in 1062 from a hypothetical un ome chaitif in the French source. This may be the case, but the phrase is not unique in MHG. literature, cf. Erec 5570: den gevangen man.

arrives from the couhtess to summon him to the rendez-vous (1082-88).[1]

All this is not only coherent, but extremely lively and convincing. The writer is manifestly on ground familiar enough for him to have a clear mental picture of what he is describing, and, as we have seen, the accuracy of his narrative can be confirmed at almost every point. Moreover he manages to convey in the most graphic manner the general atmosphere of the tourney, its bustle and animation, its blend of confusion and ceremony, its stirring sights and sounds, its thrills and sensations, interspersed and offset by vivid glimpses of individual emotion on the part of the chief actors in the story - the excitement of the countess in her turret window, the distress and mortification of the count, the hero's momentary check of disappointment when the fighting is in danger of being brought to a premature close, and his elation in the full flush of victory. This, we feel, is not romantic fiction, this is how chivalric society really felt and thought and acted on such an occasion.

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1. In Le chevalier qui recovra l'amor de sa dame 96ff., the lady sends two messengers (deus garz) to summon the knight to the tryst.

2.

Milte und manheit
ist ir ze dienste niht leit:
sînen lîp habe er schône
nâch der minnen lône:
er sî zühteclîchen balt ...
beide sêle unde lîp
muoz man wâgen durch diu wîp,
swer eô lônes von in gert:
er ist sîn anders ungewert.[1]

"... die schneidende Schärfe des realistischen un-träumerischen illusionslosen Weltblicks, wie er in der aussenseiterischen 'Moriz von Craûn'-Novelle ... in unsre hochstaufische Paradieses-Traumwelt hereinweht ..." [2]

Nevertheless the tournament episode has not been introduced for its own sake, merely in order to provide a picture of the fashionable sport of the day. Though it does not contain, but rather leads up to, the crisis of the action, it has been given a virtually central position in the poem[3] and it has been treated with a breadth of detail which many critics have felt to be quite out of

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1. Hartmann von Aue, Büchlein 627ff.

2. K. Halbach, "Epik des Mittelalters" in W. Stammler's Deutsche Philologie im Aufriss, II, Berlin 1954, col. 646.

3. 620 lines before, 720 lines after.

proportion to the rest of the work. Knightly audiences had, it is true, an insatiable appetite for anything connected with the tourney and especially in France (for one must never lose sight of the French origins of the text) tournament descriptions were an indispensable part of the literary stock-in-trade of the thirteenth century. But in Moriz von Craûn these scenes are not included simply to gratify public taste; still less are they to be regarded as padding or as the result of a faulty sense of artistic balance. If they are presented in so circumstantial a manner it is because they have a definite function to fulfil within the plan of the whole, and in particular because they have a direct bearing on the moral and social problems which were the poet's chief concern. Indeed, so perfectly does Moriz von Craûn illustrate the relationship of the tourney to the dual principle of love and honour that it might almost serve - and was perhaps intended to serve - as a type instance, an "exemplum", offered as a pattern and warning to others.

Since the account of the tournament was not an end in itself, but a means to an end, the poet has selected for inclusion only what was germane to his purpose, so that many things are omitted or passed over lightly while others are treated with the minutest detail.

We are never told, for instance, how many knights (if any) Moriz brings with him in his train, or how many others have assembled at the appointed time and place in response to his widely-proclaimed invitation, though the total company does not appear to be at all large. The participants are divided according to the usual practice into two equal groups (heidenthalp geliche 897) but we never hear how the opposing teams were picked or who were the leaders - for since Moriz prefers to stand aside and choose the most dramatic moment for entering the fray, we must infer that he was not one of them. We never learn the name of a single person taking part in the tourney except for Moriz himself - even the count and the knight who is killed remain anonymous. Apart from the fatal accident and the decision to continue the contest, both of which are indispensable to the action, the description of the fighting that precedes Moriz' entry into the conflict is reduced to a few conventional phrases (935-41) in which no single deed of prowess is recorded.

Against this shadowy background the figure of the hero stands out in brilliant isolation. Everything that concerns him is particularized down to the last iota - his ship, his tent, his armour, his horses, his hospitality, his energy, his valour, his munificence, his renown. All the rest is

simply a setting for the personal exploits and glory of the one man in whom the principle of love and honour is for the moment embodied. By this means the poet ensures that nothing shall distract the attention of his audience from the main issue at stake, such peerless merit making the disloyalty of the countess appear still blacker by contrast and going far to justify the conduct of the insulted hero himself.

Love and honour, those twin driving forces in chivalric life, are from the beginning linked with the idea of the tourney. When the hero is introduced for the first time and we are told that he serves the countess of Beaumont in hopes of reward, it is immediately taken for granted that this service involves frequenting tournaments:-

273 Der was dienstes bereit
vil manegen tac mit staetekeit:
turnieren unde geben
was im alles sin leben.

At the same time, these exploits also enhance his personal reputation:-

280 Dô was dewederthalb nie man,
des lîp ez baz taete
und dee dicker prîs haete.

So that he can say in truth:-

436 Dienest hât mîn lop braht
von lande ze lande.

The whole of the main tournament episode is in a sense a development of the theme thus announced at the outset.

On one hand the tournament is presented as a model example of the service of love in action, as the natural choice for that feat demanding both physical risk and material sacrifice - schaden und arbeit, meschef de cors et de chatemus - which the lady was entitled to exact as the recognized price of the Minnelohn.[1] In return for this final proof of devotion she pledges herself by word and gesture to confer the final reward: firstly by the formula of troth-plight du bist min und ich din (592) which is given special emphasis by the explicit declaration sprach diu graevinn (593),[2] secondly by the ring which she takes from her own

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1. See above, p. 339 .

2. Much has been written about this phrase, which seems on the whole to be characteristic for Germany rather than France, though similar expressions do occur in French, such as the fragment of real-life love-dialogue reported in the Tournoi de Chauvency 3053ff.: (Je voil) Et priere et commandement / Avoir sour vos et vos sor mi. J. Bolte (ZfdA., 34, 1890, 161ff.) and R.M. Meyer (ZfdA., 29, 1885, 133) quote very numerous examples, ranging from medieval lyric and romance through folk-song, the works of Hans Sachs, etc. up to the nineteenth century. Its use in mystical writings to denote the union of the soul with God is probably derived from the Song of Songs ii, 16, but as a secular formula of betrothal it may have its origins in legal terminology. Its formal character is shown in our text by the way in which the countess, who has previously addressed the knight in the second person plural, now changes to the more intimate du.

finger and gives to the knight as a token of her favour and as a guarantee of her willingness to fulfil her side of the bargain - *diu frouwe wolte meinen / daz sie in zeichente mite,/ nâch gesellicliches wibes site* (610-12)[1] - the self-

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1. Many examples could be quoted of this form of "troth-plight" as part of the ritual of courtly love. An anecdote from a troubadour biography is cited by Hatto, *op.cit.*, pp.302f. The whole action of the *Lai de l'Ombre* turns on the refusing or accepting of a ring. Marie de France, *Equitan* 185f. makes Equitan and the wife of the seneschal exchange rings and vows of love. Even in *Girart de Roussillon* (ed. W.M. Hackett, SATF, 3 vols., Paris 1953-55), laisse XL, Elissent the queen, formerly Girart's rightful betrothed and still bound to him by ties of close affection, gives him a ring as a sign of her love. In *Frd.* 242,17ff. and 254,1ff., Ulrich's lady sends him a ring from her white hand as *ir liebe wârzeichen*, and when she eventually demands it back again (301,21ff.) Ulrich's grief borders on frenzy. Parzival, seeing a ring on Sigûne's finger, asks jestingly by what right an anchoress like herself wears such a token of *amûrschaft* (*Parz.* IX, 191ff.). Winsbeke (stanza 9, 1-4) also takes the custom for granted, merely counselling prudence: *du solt sinneclichen tragen / verholn din minnevingerlîn*. The ring-motif occurs frequently in courtly art, too, as in the tympanum from Rottwell reproduced in Naumann, *Rittertum* (*Handbuch der Kulturgeschichte*, Potsdam 1938), fig. 107, or the Winli miniature from the Manesse Codex. The practice gradually moves down the social scale, from Walther von der Vogelweide's *herzeliebez frouwelîn* and her *gleesîn vingerlîn*, to the country lass who accepts a gold ring from Neidhart: *des wil ich disen sumer lanc sîn slâfgeselle sîn* (quoted Naumann, *op.cit.*, p. 152), and so at length into folk-song, as in J. Meier, *Deutsche Balladen* (Leipzig 1936), 67,B9: *So nehmt den Ring von meiner Hand,/ Bei mir zu schlafen den Sommer lang*.

Bestowed on the knight before a battle or tourney, this ring also acted as a kind of talisman; cf. *Horn* C (ed. M.K. Pope, Oxford 1955) 2643ff.: *D'ambesdous vus conjur e l'amur e la fei / Ke vus cele devez ki bele est coe crei,/ E l'anel vus dunc ke vus portez el dei./ Mut sovent l'esgardez, si l'amez bien le vei,/ Si la pussiez nomer en besoig de turnei* ...

same ring which later on is returned by the knight to the giver as a sign that the bond between them is formally cancelled (1620-26);[1] and thirdly by the kiss and embrace, the *beisier en foi*, which in true feudal style sets the final seal on the compact of mutual obligation (614-17).[2]

The contract thus solemnly ratified is observed by the knight. His conduct both prior to, during and after the tournament displays in superlative measure before the eyes of his lady the triple virtues of courtesy, valour and liberality - *zuht*, *manheit* and *milte*.

Courtesy, the most civilised and the least obtrusive

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1. This too finds an echo in folk-song. Cf. Canteloube, *op.cit.*, II, 359,7: *Tenez, ma belle, votre anneau,/ S'il est à vous./ Je me souci' de votre anneau / Tout court' de vous!*, and the similar stanza in Bujeaud, *op.cit.*, I, 237. The cancelling, like the plighting, of lovers' vows seems to have had its own special formula, the *Ich wil iu nimmer werden holt* (note the reverting to the more distant form of address!) of *MvC.* 1626. Cf. *Frd.* 301,15: (*si*) *werde iu für wâr nimmer holt*. Earlier in his poem Ulrich even turns this phrase against himself: *ich würde mir selben nimmer holt* (103,8).

2. For this also many parallels could be quoted. When Ganelon enters into an agreement with the paynim to betray Roland and his men, both parties concerned embrace each other formally (*Roland* 626, 633). In the *fabliau Du vilain qui donna son ame au deable* (*MR.* CXLI, 74ff.) the devil and the peasant similarly confirm the bond drawn up between them: *Sor .ii. bras su col li porte;/ En cele place où il deus erent,/ Par fine amor s'entrebeserent*. In *Horn* C, 1795, as in *Moriz von Craûn*, the kiss is offered together with the ring: *Cest anel prendrez vus od tut icest beisier*. Like the ring, this ceremonial kiss was regarded as a species of charm ensuring protection in time of danger; thus Ulrich in his third *Büchlein*, 393,7ff. begs for a kiss by way of viaticum before setting out on a Crusade. Cf. also *Titurel*, stanza 220.

of the three, though everywhere implied, manifests itself chiefly before the tourney with the hospitality extended to all comers in the tent which, though etiquette naturally forbids the countess to visit it in person, has been set up where it can be seen from the castle (764f., 804ff.); and with the gracious and well-ordered arrangements made for the reception of the guests on the following morning, when public Mass is followed by a light but choice breakfast (811-21).[1]

Valour is amply demonstrated during the actual fighting, Moriz having first ensured that the countess shall be an eye-witness of his exploits by taking up his position in the ship at the very foot of the tower from the windows of which she is watching the proceedings (891ff.). Here he proves himself suitably invincible, opponents going down before him one after the other like skittle-pins - <u>ez viel swaz vor ime was</u> (983-96). In short, he does everything that his lady could possibly demand of him, and when at length he is acclaimed on both sides as the hero of the day, the poet points out that she has good cause to be grateful to him for acquitting himself thus brilliantly (1016-20).[2]

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1. See above, p. 296, and p. 392 .

2. See above, pp. 342ff. and p. 402 .

But the virtue most strongly emphasized is liberality, and in this episode we meet with nearly every one of the types of milte which have been enumerated in the earlier part of this chapter. Of all the knightly qualities it was the one most outwardly sensational, and it seems to have held a peculiar fascination for the poet, whose preoccupation with such ideas as schade, vertuon almost verges at times on an obsession. He even uses figuratively of the service of love the phrase ârs umbe guot (414) normally applied to the bargain of mutual advantage struck between the knight and the minstrel who, in return for material gifts, was expected to publicize the generosity of the giver. He takes a kind of delight in making his hero equip himself for the tourney with incredible lavishness and then fling it all away down to the last item of personal attire. Nevertheless, in spite of his realist leanings, he is unwilling to cast a shadow over the glamour of this magnificence by suggesting that Moriz is in any way impoverished by it, preferring to credit him with the inexhaustible wealth of the conventional hero of romance.[1]

These displays of milte are anything but meaningless ostentation; they are deliberately calculated, and we are

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1. See above, pp. 264ff., for the contrast between romance and real life on this point.

even told that Moriz spent several sleepless nights planning how to design the ship in such a way that it could be "expended" when it had served its purpose (1249-51). The ship is in fact by far the most costly part of his equipment and the poet dwells with some complacency on the vil grôz guot (633) and grôziu unkôste (653) required for its construction. In addition to this expensiveness it possessed the further advantage of complete futility - ez was ein üppiger schade (683) - a perfect example of conspicuous consumption and conspicuous waste combined.[1] It was moreover doubly futile, not merely because a ship on dry land is by definition "useless", but because it was destined only to be broken up and given away in the end.

However, the cost of the ship is only part of the outlay involved. The more usual items of tourneying equipment had to be considered too. There was an immense store of lances to be assembled, all of which were destined for destruction; the greater part of these were brightly painted and fitted with pennants of rich fabric and design (705-22).[2] Nine destriers were selected for the personal use of the knight

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1. See above, pp. 315ff., for other examples, drawn from both literature and life, of conspicuous consumption passing into conspicuous waste.

2. See above, pp. 318, and 389f. .

and provided with caparisons of taffeta (zendâte 959-64). His own accoutrements also had to be of the best - and the best represented a considerable sum of money.[1] There was a complete set of armour, all shining new; the chausses are wîz (833), the haubert wîz als der snê (846), while the wambasel and gold-inlaid helmet are so bright that they can be seen from a long way off (943, 952),[2] and all is of the finest workmanship, vaste, niht swaere (835), harte guot (838).[3] His surcoat is of samite cut with ample fullness and bearing his coat of arms embroidered or appliquéd on the borders (944-50). Finally there are his instruments of vicarious consumption,[4] his "geselleschaft" (972). This retinue seems to have been composed of squires (975), minstrels (862-69) and such-like - the kind of personal entourage one sees in the miniature of Duke Heinrich von Breslau[5] - rather than fellow-knights. Though comparatively

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1. See above, p. 257 .
2. The phrase den sach man verre schînen seems to have been a stock formula in descriptions of knightly equipment. Cf. Rittertreue (GA. No. VI) 534.
3. See above, p. 393 .
4. See above, pp.257ff..
5. See above, p. 336 and the Appendix.

few in number (972-4), they serve to enhance the prestige of the hero by wearing his livery (701-4),[1] by joining in the masquerade, singing sailor's songs and pretending to row and steer the ship as it lumbered across country (750-4), and by turning the manoeuvres of the ship just before the tournament into a triumphal procession across the field to the foot of the castle-wall (859-72).[2] Some of them later seem to have taken a modest part in the fighting, but in the main they are no more than the passive instruments of their master's desire to create the maximum sensation.

Arrived at the scene of the tournament, Moriz at once plunges into fresh expenditure. Every possible device is called into play in order to dazzle the eyes of the assembled knights and ladies. His pavilion is the most sumptuous that could be imagined (773-80),[3] and within it he embarks on a programme of extravagant entertainment. The guests, high and low alike, are accommodated on cushions of taffeta

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1. See above, pp. 257f.

2. See above, pp.258ff.

3. Descriptions of luxurious tents are a commonplace in medieval romance (e.g. Roman de Thebes 2922ff. and 3979ff., Eneide 9208ff., Erec 8900ff., and Parzival II, 77ff.), and it is impossible to tell whether this passage figured in the original source or whether it was introduced by the German poet.

brocaded with gold (781-5) and a cask of wine stands ready to hand with a drinking-vessel floating in it, so that any who wished might quench their thirst freely (790-4). After night has fallen the blaze of innumerable candles continues to bear witness to his prodigality.[1] In the morning his fellow-jousters are again invited to sample his hospitality, and his delight knows no bounds when they all arrive to regale themselves at his expense.[2]

During the tournament itself all the familiar gestures of milte are observed. His whole store of lances - first the costlier painted shafts and then the plain ones - is shattered.[3] He contrives to get rid of all his nine war-steeds, giving each in turn to the first comer when he changes mounts. He disdains to take possession of any of the spoils of victory, foregoing his right of capture over the numerous horses whose riders he has unseated, so that he leaves the field stripped of everything but glory.[4]

Afterwards he returns to his tent to complete his exhibition of largesse, and till nightfall he is kept busy

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1. See above, pp. 316 and 391 .
2. See above, pp. 263, 296, and 392 .
3. See above, pp. 318 and 401f..
4. See above, pp. 265 and 328 .

distributing the remainder of his equipment (1025-39).[1] To the marzûne he hands over the ship to be dismantled and shared out, in accordance with the regular practice of leaving the debris of the joust to persons of non-knightly status as their proper perquisite (1040-60).[2] A few seize the mast and oars, but most secure pieces of the fine cloth with which the ship had been hung in order to make clothes for themselves.[3] To his fellow-knights Moriz offers things more appropriate to their rank, and is finally reduced to giving away the very armour off his back (1061-72).[4] The fact that the haubert is bestowed on a captured knight (1062-65), who would normally expect to pay ransom, not receive a valuable present, adds the final touch of lustre to the hero's generosity.[5] In short, from first to last, Moriz shows himself an enthusiastic exponent of the poet's own dictum: Schade ist minne râtgebe (332).

On the other hand, we find the poet expressing almost in the same breath an identical view in respect of honour:

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1. See above, pp. 265, 328, and 403.
2. See above, p. 319 and 404 .
3. See above, pp. 308ff. .
4. See above, pp. 310 and 404 .
5. See above, pp. 328 and 404 .

man mac vil selten / mit sparen êre gelten (329-30). The word êre is used so often in the poem and with such varying shades of meaning that it is difficult to analyse its precise implications in any given context. Nevertheless, in these lines at least it is clear that honour and love are felt to be indissolubly linked, as two parallel and complementary aspects of the same thing. Elsewhere they are put in the relation of cause and effect: honour is felt to be a by-product of love, the fruit of worthily-dedicated service, and as such in essence only another and loftier form of the Minnelohn, earning for the lover the favour of the chosen lady herself, the esteem of all noble women (êre von guoten wiben 401), and the approval of society in general (dienest hât mîn lop braht / von lande ze lande.../ sus lônet mir diu frouwe mîn 436f., 439). The poet makes it clear that society is entitled to take an active interest in the service of love, seeing that lovers are not isolated and self-sufficient units, but members of a larger community, whose corporate life is affected for good or ill by their actions as individuals, and to which they are therefore in the last resort answerable. The pact between Moriz and the countess, though ostensibly private and clandestine - deiz niemen sach (607) - is put into effect in the most public manner imaginable. Theoretically it is still verholn (to

use Winsbeke's expression), but absolute concealment could only defeat its own ends. Although the two people concerned behave with due discretion and the world respects their anonymity, the very nature of the whole tournament venture is calculated to betray the truth of the matter, even if it had not already long been common knowledge. Indeed, it is hard to see in what sense, other than that of pure self-ennoblement, love could become a source of honour, were no hint of its existence allowed to penetrate to the outside world. The service of love thus required a most delicate balance between secrecy and openness, a state of affairs which from the lovers' point of view doubtless added to the piquancy of their situation, but which could not possibly be maintained without the connivance of society as a whole. So Moriz does not simply play out his rôle as a private person; he is a type of the knightly lover in action, whose exemplary conduct enhances both his own honour and that of the chivalric order he represents.

All this is part of the orthodox creed of courtly love. However, there are signs that the poet also admits the less idealistic view that honour, in both the inward and the outward sense, can exist quite independently of love, even in defiance of love, since the hero's <u>lop und âre</u> continue to flourish unimpaired after he has renounced the

service of the countess (1642f.). During the very tournament itself, his actions largely belie the poet's assertion that *mîne lîp was al sîn dinges* (277),[1] for it is evident that the exhibition of *guht*, *manheit* and *milte* by which he hopes to earn his lady's favour is prompted just as strongly by the desire to make a spectacular impression on the world at large. In other words, the pursuit of honour in the service of love inevitably merges into the pursuit of honour for its own sake.

The ship is built *durch wunder* (631), *daz ez den liuten wol geviel* (668), the lances are to be broken *durch ruom* (721), the cross-country voyage of the ship is designed to attract as much attention as possible (*hin abe wart dirs mære / wît und offenbære* 695f.), so that the crowds follow it on its way as though it were a wedding procession (747-49), and the whole population of the town comes flocking out to greet it on its arrival and gape as though at a raree-show (758-61, 769-72). The procession to the castle wall is staged *mit êren* (859), before the tournament minstrels gather round in hordes (795-99), during the fighting his generosity (1005-10) and his valour (1017-20) are universally

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1. See above, p. 169, note 1.

applauded, and afterwards his largesse is not only extolled on the spot (mit sus getânen êren / wart ez geteilet under sie 1056f.), but published abroad (des wart sin lop vil breit 1039). His every action and gesture is attended by an uninhibited publicity, and not even the hero of Frauendienst himself could be so anxious for glory or so solicitous for his personal reputation.

In the case of Moriz, as of Ulrich, the claims of both love and honour are satisfied. Each does all that his lady could ask of him and more, each pays in full the debt he owes to himself and to his peers. Yet doubly worthy as they are, neither is permitted to enjoy the rightful reward of his labour. Though they receive their due harvest of praise from society, they both suffer a lasterbaeren roup[1] at the hands of their respective ladies, by whom the claims of love and honour alike are slighted. This double unworthiness is punished by double disgrace. Ulrich, not content with renouncing his lady's service, exposes her conduct to the world in Scheltlieder,[2]

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1. Cf. Frd. 412,9ff. (Lied XX): Schâch unde roup, diu beidiu klage ich von der vrouwen mîn./ Ez ist ein schâch und ist ein roup (waz möht ez anders sîn?)/ ...Sie rouberinne, sie hât mir sô hôhen roup genomen ...

2. See in particular the lyrics Ein tanzwîse, diu drîzehende 414,3ff.) and Ein tanzwîse, diu vierzëhde (416,28ff.).

while at the end of our poem the countess is left alone to schaden and schande - private loss and public infamy.[1]

Originally her intentions seem to have been no less worthy than his. Though not exactly enthusiastic - this show of hesitation was no doubt prescribed by etiquette - she expresses her willingness to take upon herself her share of schaden und arbeit, matching her lover's dangers in the tourney by her own risks in embarking on a secret intrigue (durch dienest ez wâgen sêre 590, and see also 134-61), and his material outlay on her behalf by the intimate bower with its painted walls, gleaming ceiling and jewelled windows which forms a kind of pendant piece to the tent (1101-09), and above all by the magnificent bed which is a symbolical counterpart to the ship (1110-55).[2]

Where she breaks down is therefore not in the matter of milte but in respect of zuht and wîbheit; towards her waiting woman she shows herself haughty and unkind, towards

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1. Schaden and schande are among the poet's favourite words, and as they lend themselves very easily to scribal confusion, it is not always possible to assign one or the other with certainty to the various passages where either would be equally appropriate. Schroeder has schande in 1665 and schaden in 1666, whereas Pretzel reverses this order; both agree in keeping geschant in 1664 and schaden in 1718, 1764.

2. We find here the same leisurely elaboration of detail, the same love of rich materials, the same revelling in the idea of sheer costliness (ditz machent riche liute 1126, veder die man tiure galt 1141), which mark the earlier descriptive passages dealing with the tent and the ship.

her lover she is guilty of unwomanly harshness. Retribution follows swiftly. She forfeits the devotion of the best of knights, and the very reward she had refused to grant freely is wrested from her at length under compulsion, not in the splendid setting originally designed for it, but in the most degrading and inappropriate place possible, namely the marriage bed. Like Moriz too, she is under observation from the world, for she also is not merely an individual in her own right, but a type and representative of womankind. By carrying out her obligations she would have done honour to the whole sex (bittet sie vil sêre / durch aller frouwen êre,/ daz si ir zorn mîde 1453-5, and again: (ich) wil iu biten bî dem gote,/ der iu gap sêle unde lîp,/ daz ir êret alliu wîp:/ lât in zuo niht haben verlorn 1482-85). By falling short of the standard required she has dealt a blow at the whole structure of chivalric ethics: ich waene ouch niht daz iemen lebe,/ der immer mê ûf lônes gebe / gedienet, wirt im ditz bekant:/ sô ist iuwer zorn niht wol bewant./ swenne diu werlt mit disem schaden / von iuwern schulden ist geladen,/ ditz ist uns wîben ein misseval .../ nû seht, wie iu daz danne stê (1311-20).[1]

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1. See above, p. 349 , especially the quotation from Parzival in note 1 .

Possibly it is the very suggestion of universal validity inherent in the relationship of the lovers which, to the modern reader, makes it all appear curiously chilly and impersonal. They have the air of actors performing routine gestures and when reality breaks through the façade it is a reality very much at odds with the high-sounding doctrines of courtly love. Our poem reveals perhaps more clearly than any other literary production of the time how precariously the ideals of chivalry were poised between outward convention and inward truth, and how slight a shock was required to bring the delicate edifice toppling down. The impeccable bearing of the lovers in the opening scenes throws into even more glaring contrast their behaviour when under the sway of their natural feelings - the angry woman shrewishly berating her servant, the disappointed cavalier bursting his way into the bedroom and insulting in the most brutal and contemptuous fashion the woman for whose sake he has just risked life and property. There is something almost horrible about the transformation, as though a mask had been removed.

Once again, in fact, we find ourselves confronted by the ambiguous streak that runs through the chivalric code of love and honour. It is present even in the character of the hero who is blameless of the initial offence and who,

of the two chief personages, clearly has the greater share of the poet's sympathies. His "love" is a blend of calculation, convention and physical desire. He chooses his lady with his head rather than his heart; when she ceases to be acceptable he quits her with no apparent regret, unless his plunging into a renewed frenzy of tourneying is to be interpreted as a sign of defiant grief. The tournament is not a spontaneous gesture of devotion, but a conforming to the pattern of service approved by society, which possesses the additional advantage of enabling him to pursue his own advancement under cover of a show of selfless ardour. Though he arranges that the countess shall be a spectator of his prowess during the tourney he does not appear to be inspired by her presence; there is no indication that the sight of her lends him added skill, energy or valour. He asks from her nothing but the <u>lân</u>, nor is there any doubt as to what he envisages by it. This preoccupation with the satisfying of physical desire is so absorbing that when they come together all his fury and revulsion are powerless to prevent him from yielding to her advances (1609-19). Nowhere does his love rise to the level of affection, let alone to heights of spirituality, and when it comes into collision with his pride it breaks down at

once and completely.

In the same way his view of honour is purely external. The injury which he suffers at the hands of the countess wounds his self-esteem rather than his integrity or his good name; it is his own conduct in seeking to right his wrongs which, for the first time, involves him in active dishonour. As a result, the lôn he eventually obtains proves to be only a travesty of itself and leaves behind it not ennoblement but bitterness and disillusion.

His moral failure, however, is pardoned by the poet because it is the consequence of a still more grievous failure on the part of the countess. She, like Moriz, gives no sign of any personal feelings for her partner in the Minnewerbiltnis; her initial reluctance to enter on the relationship and the eagerness with which she withdraws from it as soon as a pretext to do so offers itself betray fundamental indifference rather than any feminine scruples of modesty or morals. Where the knight craves for fame, she craves for power - power to command the services of her lover, power to bestow or withhold the reward as she chooses. At the tournament her vanity is gratified to the full, and her lover's exploits only arouse in her the desire to test his devotion still further. She creeps suddenly

on him at the rendez-vous (1418-22),[1] as though secretly hoping to surprise him in some fault that would justify her in refusing the promised recompense. It is hinted that she might have come earlier had she wished (1257), that she delayed from wilful caprice, which the pleadings of the waiting-woman only harden into stubbornness. Towards the girl she shows herself as unjust and unkind as towards the knight, and though she constantly speaks of "honour" her conduct is the negation of all the chivalric ideals of womanly virtue.

In a word, when their feelings are put to the proof, both Moriz and the countess sacrifice love to "honour" and in the last resort honour to vanity. They are in many ways an unattractive pair, but their changing moods and their mutual reactions are presented with astonishing psychological insight.

3.

"Et contigit quadam vice... ut in congressu comparis miles quidam ... in corde lancea feriretur. Cum gravi igitur luctu ad domum propriam corpus exanime sic delatum in locello componitur. Post horam autem egresso famulo ... obvius ei in equo nigro factus est miles occisus, qui dixit ei: ... Descende nunc et occisori meo specialiter dicas et aliis omnibus quibus vis, ut veniant ad talem locum

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1. The passage is corrupt in the MS. but this seems to be the general sense of the lines.

et videant divinum judicium de me factum ... "[1]

Moriz von Craûn is thus concerned both with the general problem of chivalric love and honour and with the clash of individual personalities. The tournament is directly relevant to each of these two aspects - it is a type instance of the service of love offered and abused, and it sets the stage for the conflict between the two principal characters.

On the other hand it is more than a tableau de moeurs with a moral significance. It is also necessary to the plot, a vital link in the chain of events, the logical sequel to what has gone before, the equally logical preparation for what is to come after. The transition from this episode to the following one is indeed a masterpiece of ingenious contrivance. That Moriz' retainers should have absented themselves while their master is indulging his passion for milte is a plausible touch of realism, but it also enables the hero to receive the lady's message, as he must, in private. The speed with which the messenger is despatched by the countess shows an apparent eagerness to fulfil her side of the bargain which provides a highly effective contrast to

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1. Thomae Cantipratensis miraculorum ... libri duo, Lib. II, cap. 49, par. 6: De alio milite in torneamentis occiso apparente.

her later conduct. The speed with which, for his part, the hero obeys the summons without waiting for rest and refreshment both emphasizes the loyalty of his devotion and at the same time accounts for the sleep of exhaustion which overcomes him at the crucial moment. Furthermore the fact that he is given no time to disarm completely or to wash away the grime of battle explains how the mail hose which he still wears on one leg clangs on the floor of the bedchamber and wakens the count (1549ff.), and how his apparition, covered in gore (1531-34), and wearing the tattered and blood-stained wambes (1557-59) - the outer doublet which we are told (1067-69) he resumed for warmth after giving away his hauberk - can be mistaken for the ghost of the slain knight.[1]

This "ghost" scene and the events leading up to it reveal the poet's narrative technique at its most successful. In the whole range of Middle High German literature there can be few incidents where the motivation is more convincing, the recital more compact and racy, and the flavour of reality more authentic.

The starting-point of the whole affair is the accidental killing of one of the participants in the tourney. This

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1. See above, pp. 269f. for similar descriptions of the battered appearance of knights after a tourney.

was a contingency which, as we have seen, was by no means uncommon in real life,[1] and every knight who took part in a tournament must have been, in theory at least, prepared to face it. Yet though the event in itself was nothing unusual, the issues which it raised were unexpectedly profound, and the various reactions which it appears to have provoked, alike in fact and fiction, show how wide was the range of moral outlook which could exist within the general framework of chivalric society.

On the one hand we have what may be termed the orthodox or ideal standpoint. Since tourneying was, as we have shown, denounced by the ecclesiastical authorities as a mortal sin, those who met their death while engaged in it died excommunicate,[2] forfeited their right to Christian burial,[3] and were regarded by those who took the pronouncements of the Church seriously as doomed to an eternity of torment,[4] either in the fires of Hell or in that wandering company of lost souls known to popular superstition as the

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1. See above, pp. 271ff.
2. See above, pp. 207ff..
3. See above, pp. 211ff.
4. See above, pp. 213ff.

Wild Hunt.[1] Though this view was chiefly fostered by clerical writers, as the official champions of other-worldliness, there is plenty of evidence from secular channels to suggest that it had penetrated into the consciousness of the knights themselves. The attitude of the Church is taken for granted in the Novelle Unser Frauen Ritter: when a knight is trampled to death in a tournament, swie er hete lop und pris bejak,/ er mohte den vrithof niht behaben,/Uf dem velde wart er begraben (126ff.). Again, the hero of Des .III. Chevaliers et del Chainse is warned by his companions against obeying his lady's behest and going into the tourney unarmed: Morte est ta char, t'ame perie,/ Dieu et le siecle pers ensamble (176f.), and Aucassin includes among the congenial company he hopes to find in Hell li bel cevalier qui sont mort as tornois (VI, 32ff.).

There must also have been many who, though caring little for the ban of the Church, felt that even the inadvertent slaying of one knight by another cast a slur not only on the reputation of the individual responsible, but also on the dignity of the chivalric order as a whole. When the tourney in question was, as in Moriz von Craûn, a turnei

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1. See above, pp. 218ff..

za schimpfe, a sporting exercise or a friendly rivalry in the service of love or honour, such fatal accidents were reckoned doubly shameful.[1] If they occurred, both knightly propriety and Christian sentiment demanded that the contest should at once be suspended, in other words, that the survivors should be willing to set aside their personal desires and ambitions as a token of mourning and as a communal gesture of atonement for the offence of which they were the involuntary accomplices; and that this did in fact frequently happen is borne out by the evidence of both literature and history.[2] A case in point is provided by Le chevalier qui recevra l'amor de sa dame. Here all the requirements of courtesy are observed. The death of the knight is the signal for general grief (Tuit en furent mat et morne 91); being denied a grave in consecrated ground he is buried under an elm-tree (Lors l'anfoïrent sez un orme 92), and the assembly disperses (Li tornoiemanz se depart 94). All is correct, civilized and totally impersonal. The lady's husband, not being responsible for the disaster, has no particular feelings in the matter, and the whole incident, which occupies only a few lines, is introduced merely as a

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1. See above, pp. 276ff. For the term turnei za schimpfe, see Niedner, op.cit., pp. 25f.

2. See above, pp. 277f..

necessary condition for the subsequent appearance of the "ghost".

In Moriz von Craûn on the other hand, though the basic elements of the action are the same, the affair is given a very different complexion. It is treated in far greater detail and above all with a far more searching insight into the springs of human behaviour. There is no trace here of any ideal solidarity linking together the slayer, the victim and the guiltless in a single corporate unity as fellow-members of the chivalric order. On the contrary the poet draws an almost exaggerated line of distinction between the reactions of the count, as the person actually responsible for the accident, and the rest of the company, including the hero.

The count is overwhelmed by grief and shame to think that he has become durch ritterschaft ... schulthaft (911f.). He retires from the field, like Ulrich at Feldsberg,[1] to nurse his wounded honour. With the violent emotionalism so characteristic of the age he throws himself on his bed, weeping and cursing the day that the tournament was ever

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1. Ibid.(p.278 above).

devised, and vowing life-long sorrow and remorse.[1] This inordinate sensitiveness to personal disgrace was, as we have seen, a fundamental ingredient in the chivalric mentality.[2] But the misery of the count is not only psychologically true - it is of direct importance to the course of the action. It makes him less disposed to keep a watch on his wife's movements, so that she can summon her lover with confidence to the tryst (sô muoz min frouwa lachen / daz iuwer zweier rât / allenthalben eine sât 1210-12); at the same time, by preventing him from sleeping and thus (ostensibly at least) compelling the countess to remain by his side longer than she had planned, it helps to precipitate the catastrophe.

Moriz likewise sees the incident only as it affects him personally, as a potential obstacle to the realisation of his own ambitions and desires. In face of this all-consuming preoccupation, the promptings of Christian charity, common humanity, or even knightly good form, are reduced to silence. He has no pangs of conscience whatever over the

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1. In the same way, Ulrich, when his lady has withdrawn her favours, falls into the most extravagant paroxysms of grief, with loud cries and sobs, so that his companions come running to see what is the matter, and either mingle their tears with his or fall on their knees in admiration of such exquisite sensibility (Frd. 302,13ff.). The whole incident, one feels, is recorded with a good deal of complacency.

2. See above, pp. 284f.

death of the man for which he, as instigator of the tournament, is at least partly responsible. To the anguish of the count he is wholly indifferent, merely remarking, when the countess delays her coming, that had he killed nine men he ought not, as a man of honour, ein hövesch man, to be keeping his wife from fulfilling the obligations of courtly love (1218-24).

Between these two individuals stands the anonymous crowd of jousters, hesitating between the conflicting claims of duty and inclination. They view the departure of the count with regret (914) and are aware that they should follow his example. But when another man is willing to take the responsibility for the breach of etiquette they follow joyfully a lead which accords far better with their own preference, and Moriz has an easy task in persuading them to resume the fighting. The fate of the dead man's soul appears to sit very lightly on their conscience; it is commended, in a manner so perfunctory as to be almost cynical, to the care of St Michael,[1] and they turn again

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1. In the Middle Ages St Michael was universally believed to be the patron and champion of departed souls, who not only conducted the saved to eternal bliss, but had power to rescue the guilty from the clutches of Satan. Cf. Erec 3649ff.; ir was als der sêle,/ der von Michaêle / wirt der hellewîze rât,/ diu lange dâ gebûwen hât, and Salman und Morolf (Altd. Texte f.d.akademischen Unterricht, Halle 1954), 495,1ff.: Daz sol mîn urkünde sîn,/ daz sant Michel emphâe die sêle mîn./ ez vernimet die engelische diet / und lânt sie verderben niet.

with relief to their cherished pastime - und stechen wir! (933). This also rings convincingly true. There is plenty of evidence to show how uncontrollable the passion for jousting could become, overriding political or religious restraints[1] no less than moral considerations, and how bitterly any interference with it was resented.[2] At the

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1. So in Flamenca 918ff. the ladies watching a tourney refuse to budge when the bells ring to vespers - Ja per vaspras nom partam cort! - and Ulrich tells how, when a number of knights were summoned to Friesach for the purpose of political negotiation, they wasted all their time at jousting; Leopold of Austria was angry and impatient ('mich müet daz endeclich / sul wir niht anders schaffen hie / wan stechen', Frd. 77,17ff.), but quite powerless to hold them in curb ('In tuot din ritterschaft so wol / daz ich si ab dem velde her / niht bringen kan, swie ich sin ger', Frd. 78,22ff.). The futility of all attempts on the part of Church and State alike to restrain the tournament craze is discussed in the opening section of this chapter.

2. When on one occasion Frederick of Austria has a tourney stopped, the jousters as his vassals have no choice but to obey; however, they make no secret of their fury: daz wir daz turnîren lâzen sîn,/ daz ist uns hertzenlichen leit./ juncherre, daz si iuch geseit (Frd. 501, 19ff.). Again, when Ulrich's companions on the Artusfahrt feel that they are not having a fair innings they voice their displeasure freely: Ieslicher sprach dô: 'herre mîn,/ wie nû, wie? waz sol daz sîn?/ sol niemen stechen hie wan ir?/ ... ir suit uns ouch stechen lân' (Frd. 488,2ff.).

same time it is indispensable to the continuance of the action that the chivalric code of manners should be thus flouted, for if the tourney came to a premature end the story would collapse with it.

Another even more important factor enters into the question. Justice as well as structural symmetry demand that the lovers shall meet once more with their former positions reversed, that is, the countess must be humbled and the hero emerge triumphant. Since the lady refuses to go a second time to the knight (1494ff.) the knight must perforce come to the lady, to which end the third person of the triangle, the husband, must be temporarily removed from the scene. This too the poet has managed to contrive in the most skilful manner without sacrificing either coherent motivation or psychological truth. When after lying sleepless for some time (1540-45) the count at length falls into an uneasy slumber (1546) he is wakened by the ring of metal on the floor of the bedchamber (1549-51) and sees by the half-light of the lamp (1511f.) a figure in blood-stained tournament array standing beside the bed. He is so dumbstruck by the shock of the apparition that he cannot even utter a charm against evil spirits (1552-

54).[1] At once his mind leaps to the conclusion that his visitant is either the devil himself or[2] a member of the

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1. We can form some idea of the charm which might have been appropriate to this particular occasion from Irregang und Girregar (GA., No. LV) 1289ff. where a nocturnal apparition is conjured to speak and finally banished by two incantations of which the first begins thus: bî deus salter ich dich swer / und bî Wutungis her;/ bî Petors ban bast / banne ich dich vil vast ... In the Decameron (seventh day, tale 1) a lady wishing to warn her lover of her husband's presence pretends to mistake her visitor for a ghost and recites an impromptu charm conveying the situation to him and enabling him to slip away undiscovered. One might also quote in this connexion the very entertaining episode in Frd. 365,12ff. where Ulrich tumbles from his lady's window in the middle of the night and runs down the castle mound wailing loudly and accompanied by a great rattling of loose stones; the watchman on the battlements thinks he is the devil, and is frightened almost out of his wits: ich bat mich sêre got bewarn / und bieg in der sunne hag hin varn./ vil vaste ich mich gesegnen pflac,/ sô rehte sêre ich nie erschrac (375,25ff.).

2. Although the count appears to differentiate between the two things, they were very closely connected in medieval superstition. The Wild Hunt was above all the devil's host, issuing forth from Hell, and often led by Satan himself. Cf. Stricker's Karl (ed. Bartsch, Quedlinburg and Leipzig 1857) 6800f.: der tiuvel hât ûz gesant / sîn gesweme und sîn her; Eneide 3251ff.: sî bliesen ende gollen,/ freislîke sî hollen,/ sô dat die helle wagede,/ als der dûvel dâ jagede, and the anecdote from Caesarius of Heisterbach, Dialogus Miraculorum, Lib. XII, cap. xx, where the devil appears as a huntsman ("infernalis venator") with hounds and horn, and carries off to Hell the soul of a sinful woman. The association of historical or legendary figures, such as Arthur, Charlemagne or Dietrich of Bern, with the Wild Hunt is a rather later, more "popular" development of the myth.

Wild Hunt,[1] and that unless God lends His aid, he and his wife are as good as dead (1561-65).[2]

Here the conventions of chivalric romance are cast to the winds and we can see how primitive was the outlook which lay just beneath that sophisticated exterior. A knight in the position of the count would certainly (if he had any

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1. The Wild Hunt went by many different names in the Middle Ages. That used here ("daz wüetende her") was used chiefly in Western Germany from Alsace up to the regions round Luxemburg, though it is also found as far east as Thuringia and Upper Saxony. Other similar expressions are daz wuotas her (Reinfrid von Braunschweig 479), Wutungis her (Irregang und Girregar, see above), and das witische her (Johann Geiler von Kaisersberg, Emais, Strassburg 1518, fol. 38[v]). The corresponding French expression la maisnie Hellequin is clearly related to the various terms found in Latin sources, e.g. familia Herlechini (Ordericus Vitalis, see above, p. 219), milites Herlewini (Pierre de Blois, in Migne, Patrologia latina CCVII, col. 44), and phalanges noctivagae, quas Herlethingi dicebant (Walter Map, De Nugis Curialium, ed. T. Wright, Camden Soc., London 1850, p. 180). For a detailed discussion of the whole question of the Wild Hunt see Hans Plischke, Die Sage vom wilden Heere im deutsche Volke (Eilenburg 1914) and Will-Erich Peuckert, Deutscher Volksglaube des Spätmittelalters (Stuttgart 1942), pp. 86ff.

2. It was widely believed that the sight of the Wild Hunt spelt doom to the living, even if they were innocent of any crime.

regard at all for the teaching of the Church in the matter) suffer great distress of conscience in that he had caused the death and, worse, the damnation of a fellow-knight; and it is wholly in keeping with the notions current at the time that he should imagine the spirit of the dead man to be wandering unshriven over the face of the earth in the Wild Hunt, still retaining its bodily shape and even the dress it had worn in life, and still bearing about it the marks of its death. But if the fate of his victim lay heavy on his conscience, he had even greater cause to tremble for his own soul, for what retribution might not await the man who was thus guilty of twofold murder? He might well be in fear and dread lest the soul he had despatched to eternal perdition should return to haunt the slayer and exact vengeance. So when Moriz, taking his cue adroitly from the situation, declares that he is indeed the spirit of the dead knight, now suffering in Hell[1] and come to fetch away to like torment the man who has destroyed him body and soul, we can appreciate the panic terror of the count which makes him hurl himself blindly out of bed, knocking

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1. Medieval belief could make a distinction between the ghost or phantom of the dead man, which could be condemned to remain earthbound in expiation of its sin, and the actual soul, which was at the same time being tormented in Hell. See the example quoted above on p. 220 .

himself senseless,[1] and so giving the hero both opportunity and leisure to take his revenge on his disloyal mistress (1560-80). She for her part has looked on dumbly throughout the scene. Though she recognizes at once the identity of the visitant (1566f.) she dare not utter a word for fear of betraying herself, and when her husband is no longer able to protect her she submits in a kind of daze to her fate (1592f.). The whole episode gives a startlingly realistic picture of three personalities brought suddenly into strong mutual tension at close quarters. Yet in spite of the breathless speed with which the action moves towards the climax, there is no straining of credibility, nor any gap in the motivation.

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1. Since we are told that he knocks himself on the shin, we may assume that in flinging himself out of bed he trips and falls over one of the pieces of furniture which normally stood beside the bed in medieval times - either a bench or stool (cf. Nibelungenlied 668,3f.: si warf in ûz dem bette dô bî ir eine banc,/ daz im sîn houbet lûte an eime schêmel erklanc) or perhaps a chest (cf. Nibelungenlied 672,3f.: si truoc in mit gewalte (daz muos' et alsô sîn) / und druhte in ungefuoge zwischen der wende und einen schrîn.

... der site der ist noch
rehte und offenliche erkant,
über der Franzeise lant,
daz man mit swerten und mit spern
turnieret dâ: wil ieman gern
jostierens mit den scheften,
der mac sich dâ beheften
mit starken stichen manicvalt.[1]

In more than just a literal sense therefore the tournament may be said to lie at the centre of Moriz von Craûn. It is the pivot on which the action turns, it provides a background of solid actuality against which the characters can come convincingly to life, and it offers a most effective means of bringing to a head the moral crisis in the light of which the events acquire their true significance.

But one final problem remains to be discussed: how much of all this already existed in the French source from which our poem is derived? Any attempt to unravel the various strands of which the fabric as we have it is composed must necessarily remain on the level of conjecture. Nevertheless, though we cannot demand certainty, we can at least balance probabilities, and the cumulative weight of evidence is so strong as to be virtually unanswerable.

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1. Partonopier 15108ff.

In the first place, the very closeness with which these scenes are integrated into the general design of the work would lead us to conclude - even without the evidence of Le chevalier qui recovra l'amor de sa dame - that they belong to the original source, for any attempt on the part of the German poet to interpolate them as an afterthought would have involved re-casting the whole structure of the plot. Moreover, the fact that the service of love should be typified by a tournament rather than some other knightly feat is in itself enough to suggest (though of course not to prove) French rather than German provenance, since France was, as we have seen, the accepted home of the tournament[1] and it was in France that it achieved its widest and most lasting popularity in both life and literature,[2] whereas in Germany it always remained something of an alien fashion, followed with enthusiasm in certain circles, but never wholly acclimatized.[3]

For this reason - though temperamental factors no doubt entered into it as well - the tournament in Germany never quite lost its exclusive character, whether as an assay of arms or as a social diversion. It seems to have

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1. See above, pp. 245ff., and the quotation at the head of this section.

2. See above, pp. 376ff.

3. see above, pp. 245 and 377.

remained on the whole the prerogative of an aristocratic minority who, lacking native flair, were forced to surround it with elaborate protocol, which served both to uphold good form and to distinguish the initiate from the outsider, and who strove to guard it against mere vulgar universality by a jealous insistance on the rules of Turnierfähigkeit.[1] Both these traits are apparent, say, in Frauendienst, where there is a good deal of punctilio and a tendency to concentrate on the niceties of the game, and where the contests (even Ulrich's single-handed enterprises like the Venusfahrt) are patronised by a high proportion of persons of superior rank, counts, margraves, Domvögte, princes, dukes, and the like.[2] Furthermore, as an imported custom which had attracted no little public attention, it was liable to a certain amount of surveillance from the authorities of Church and State.[3]

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1. See above, pp. 243ff. This tinge of snobbishness becomes still more marked in the works of later writers, chiefly men of bourgeois origin.

2. The list of those who assemble in the tournament at Friesach is revealing in this connexion (Frd. 65,1 - 66,8).

3. For example, the Duke of Austria refuses to allow Ulrich to go tourneying in Bohemia, because of his feud with the King of Bohemia (Frd. 503,11ff.) and a group of Church dignitaries, including the Bishops of Bamberg, Salzburg and Passau, try to bring the jousting at Friesach to an end (Frd. 77,25 - 78,16). See above, pp. 240ff.

In France, on the other hand, the tournament, if it was not exactly a commonplace occurrence, was certainly no sensational novelty, nor was it felt to call for more than sporadic control or supervision from above. The knightly class as a whole jousted as to the manner born, and beside the grand tourneys organized by the leading nobility, which were of course extremely splendid and ceremonious, there appears to have been a considerable amount of informal tourneying on quite a modest scale.[1]

The tourney in Moriz von Craûn is clearly of this latter type. It is a private venture arranged by one man for his own personal ends, in which others are invited to join for apparently no other reason than the love of the sport, and perhaps the hope of booty, since no prize is offered. It attracts no special notoriety, and there is no hint of any repercussions where the authorities are concerned. The company is neither large nor, as far as we can guess, particularly distinguished. The fighting, which only lasts for a single day,[2] is attended by a minimum of formality and it breaks up as casually as it began, with Moriz as the victor only by general acclaim. Apart from

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1. This emerges very clearly from the Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal.

2. The standard tournament lasted for two or even three days (for the vesperie contrasted with the turnei proper, see Niedner, op.cit., pp.80ff.).

the hero, whose actions are planned with the utmost care, the arrangements are improvized as the occasion demands, and one is left with an impression of free and easy familiarity which shows how much the tournament has become taken for granted as part of the recognized business of chivalric life.

The manner of the narrative, no less than the matter of it, distinguishes this episode from any other tournament description in Middle High German literature.[1] Works like Gottfried's Tristan, the Nibelungenlied and Kudrun, in which the tournament plays only a very minor rôle, scarcely come into the question at all. For Wolfram the tournament is an opportunity to revel in brilliant colour and animated movement, to indulge his exuberant fancy, and to display his special virtuosity of language, his tortuous syntax, his arresting imagery and his eccentric circumlocutions. To the writers of the bourgeois school, in particular to Konrad von Würzburg, it afforded full scope for a flowery luxuriance of expression and for the portrayal of high life at its most elegant and stylish. For Ulrich it is an object of life-long, almost professional, enthusiasm, in which every technical detail is of absorbing interest. For the authors of the Heldenepen, such as Biterolf and the

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1. See above, pp. 371ff.

Rosengarten, it was a means of gratifying the popular appetite for violence and sensationalism. For the authors of the Novellen it was part of the machinery of the droll or sentimental anecdote. None of these attitudes corresponds in the least to that of our poet. The nearest approach to it is undoubtedly that of Hartmann von Aue; though more romantic in tone and far more elaborate in detail, the account in Erec of the tournament enzwischen Tarebron und Prûrin resembles Moriz von Craûn in many outward respects. There is the description of the hero's equipment, his armour, his lances, his horses and their caparisons (Erec 2284ff.); there is the entertainment in the herberge on the evening before the tourney, the blaze of candles (Erec 2374ff.), the lavish hospitality (Erec 2390ff.), the morning Mass (Erec 2539ff.) followed by breakfast (Erec 2543), the donning of armour (Erec 2546ff.); as in Moriz von Craûn the limelight is concentrated on the sole figure of the hero, who displays his invincible prowess in the unhorsing of a whole series of opponents (Erec 2427f., 2582f., 2615, 2801f.) and the breaking of numerous lances (Erec 2507ff., 2780f.); his generosity is equal to his valour, for not only does he refuse to take possession of the horses of his defeated adversaries (Erec 2429, 2616ff.), but he gives away his own horses one by one as he changes

mounts (Erec 2594ff., 2633ff., 2703, 2782ff.); and these exploits win for him, as for Moriz, the acclamation of both sides (Erec 2472f., 2812).

It has already been pointed out that the author of Moriz von Craûn almost certainly knew, and was influenced by, the works of Hartmann, but it must also be remembered that Hartmann himself is more dependent on his French source in this, his first attempt at chivalric romance, than in any of his other writings[1]. And the tournament episode in Moriz von Craûn, with its compactness, its pictorial clarity, its factual truth and its shrewd psychological insight, points even more decisively than Erec to the lands on the other side of the Rhine, and in particular to the regions along the eastern and north-eastern borders of France, for it was here that these qualities were developed to their fullest extent in the conte d'histoire and the roman mondain, and it is here, as we have seen, that the true affinities of our poem may be said to lie.

To the material he found in his source the German poet may well have contributed a certain amount of additional detail - derived possibly from Hartmann - as well as those occasional lapses of style almost inseparable from the difficult task of rhymed translation, the formulae (e.g. diu aller beste liute / dâ von ir ie gehôrtet sagen 948f.), the

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1. The extent of the debt becomes at once apparent when the two versions of the tournament episode are compared in detail.

rhetorical questions (e.g. wem möhte ez baz iu gezemen? 1042), the padding (e.g. harte unmâzen veste 786, or the repeated verre man ez schînen sach / den sach man verre schînen in 943 and 952), and the involved or awkward sentence-structure (e.g. in 853-58 or 900-06, both of which passages have attracted the attention of the textual critics).

But his most important contribution is undoubtedly the subjective approach which colours the whole episode. Here, as everywhere else in the poem, he is not simply reproducing borrowed material in his own language, he is interpreting it in the light of its moral implications, so that in his hands the straightforward recital of events is transformed into a pièce à thèse. More than this, it becomes the vehicle for his own private ideas and opinions. He is no impartial moralizer, content to take his views at second-hand. Again and again in these lines we are conscious that a personal note is being struck, a personal standpoint affirmed, a personal verdict pronounced or implied. We can glimpse his mind at work even in the flow of little incidental comments and reflexions which runs

alongside the main stream of the narrative - *daz haete er nôte vermiten* (776), *alsô bewâret er sich ie* (832), *diu maevinne / diu ez allez hâte gefrumet* (880f.), the allusion to the *galiotten* (870) and many others.

This independence of thought is still more evident in his handling of the wider issues involved. Though the German poet has unquestionably a first-hand knowledge of the tourney and a lively interest in everything that concerns it, he is by no means a blind enthusiast.[1] There are two points on which he is always profoundly serious, never permitting himself the smallest disrespect, let alone the smile of irony; the principle of *ritterschaft* and *êre*, which he expounds at considerable length in the historical prologue, and the principle of *minne*, which is even more fully analyzed in the long excursus on love, the hero's soliloquy and the dialogue between the countess and the waiting-woman. However, when these two sacrosanct ideals

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1. One sympton of this critical detachment is his indifference to the technical jargon of tourneying. His account contains perhaps half a dozen words of foreign origin, such as *marzûn*, *covertiure*, *baniere*, *lendenier*, *puneiz*, but there is a marked absence of that fashionable vocabulary of the joust which one finds in the writings of Konrad von Würzburg and, to a lesser extent, in Wolfram, and which included both French terms like *malîe*, *poulân*, *rabbîn*, *drumsen*, *poinder*, *vaelen*, *enschumpfieren*, and phrases of native origin, like *den walt envenden*, *schenkel fliegen*, *hurteclich*.

are seen in relationship to the tournament, a note of misgiving, faint and intermittent, but none the less unmistakable, begins to make itself heard; and it is significant that this scepticism is prompted not by religious or patriotic or utilitarian considerations, but by his very conception of the nature of chivalry.

Moriz is typical of chivalric society as a whole in believing that the tourney offered a sure path to knightly virtue and knightly renown. In the event, as the poet suggests, it proves itself capable of inducing in its devotees a callous heedlessness of human life, and the way in which even the hero is shown as sacrificing his higher obligations to the pursuit of glory indicates that the tournament can blunt, as well as sharpen, the sense of honour. Similarly it is assumed to be one of the principle instruments of the service of love; yet, as the events prove, it merely prepares the way for the breakdown, first in the woman, then in the man, of the love it was designed to consummate. The picture of Moriz riding to the rendezvous on the servant's nag, tattered, weary and dishevelled, is by its contrast to his former splendour almost a presage of the moral collapse that is to come.

In other words, the poet seems to imply that where love and honour are concerned, the tournament is an effect rather

than a cause. It can foster and express these ideals when they are already present and firmly established in the mind; but it cannot keep them alive artificially when the true inward spirit fails, still less can it be used as an infallible means to their attainment when they are lacking. If this is done, the semblance of virtue which it creates can well undermine and corrupt the reality.

When dealing with less serious issues the poet unbends so far as to indulge a vein of humour occasionally bordering on parody, as for instance in his approach to the two most generally admired aspects of tourneying prowess, valour and largesse, manheit and milte. These virtues he never attempts to disparage as such; on the contrary he regards them as indispensable supports of the chivalric way of life. But he does hint that the tournament can easily encourage the wrong kind of valour and the wrong kind of largesse.

False values in the practice of milte have an effect on those who receive no less than those who give. There is a real note of humorous contempt in the allusion to the hordes of minstrels who cluster around the hero's tent in hopes of profiting from his bounty - si trûegen wol ein hûs enbor (800) - or again, in the scene where the garzûne are dividing up the ship, snatching and squabbling so that one man gets only a broken crown for his pains (1050f.). These lines may

even be intended as a burlesque counterpart to the ten courses which Moriz runs in the joust (985-95).

Milte looms over-large on the hero's horizon too, and on several occasions this propensity is shown in a distinctly comic light, as when the crowd of knights flocks to enjoy his hospitality and he is sô frô / das eyn wiste waz er solte tuon (816f.), or when he goes bounding about the field - er fuor umbe als ein bal (1025) - announcing his programme of largesse, or again when he enquires whether anyone would like to accept his chausses as a gift and no one is interested - dannoch was dâ niemen (1073) - or most of all, when his companions quietly slip away and leave him alone in order to avoid having to carry out his instructions and give away everything they possess - von diu nâmens sîn deheine wâr (1081).

In the same way the poet points out how narrow were the standards of valour required by the tournament. The feats involved were virtually limited to two - the unhorsing of opponents and the breaking of lances - and each of these is treated with marked irony.

The unhorsing of an opponent in fair joust seems in fact to have been relatively uncommon in real life. During the whole course of the Venusfahrt Ulrich only overthrows four adversaries ze rehter tyost (Frd. 291,25ff.) and even

this is regarded as no mean achievement. So when Moris is made to send men flying out of the saddle so fast that they can hardly be counted, the effect on a contemporary audience must have been one of caricature.

His exploits in the matter of lance-breaking are still more ludicrous. Here too Ulrich gives us a very clear and consistent idea of what was genuinely possible, and if his estimates deviate from the truth they are scarcely likely to err on the side of modesty. In Frd. 247,25ff. three hundred lances are mentioned as equipment for fifty knights. During the entire tourney at Triest only five hundred lances are broken, Ulrich's contribution being no more than fifteen (Frd. 106,23ff.). On another occasion six knights between them account for only a hundred lances in a day's continuous fighting (Frd. 491,14ff.). During the whole Venusfahrt Ulrich breaks no more than three hundred and seven lances (Frd. 291,10ff.). The largest total he ever achieved in a single day was forty-three (Frd. 272,9ff.), and this was felt to be a quite exceptional feat, only made possible by the hôher muot which his lady's gift of a ring had inspired in him and by the fact that the jousting was continued by torch-light far into the night. In the romances a certain measure of exaggeration was permitted; Gahmuret, for instance, breaks a hundred lances single-handed at Kanvoleiz (Parzival II,

674f.).[1] But Moriz breaks three hundred in one day and even then has to fall back on his reserve store. This is frankly grotesque, and must have been recognized as such in its own day.

Tournament satire was, as we have seen, more characteristic for Germany than for France.[2] Sometimes it may have been based on a genuine dislike and mistrust, sometimes no doubt it sprang from that deep-seated urge in human nature to belittle anything that is fanatically admired by others, sometimes it must have been a natural reaction against the excesses to which borrowed fashions are so liable in the country of their adoption.

But the satire in Moriz von Craûn is different from any of these. The German poet has experienced the tournament for himself, perhaps in that unequalled brilliance of form and setting which it attained in the eastern marches of France, and not all his awareness of its limitations and absurdities can make him proof against the fascination which it still, after more than seven centuries, has the power to exert over all who come into contact with it.

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1. This exploit seems to have become proverbial. Cf. the lines from Tannhäuser quoted on p. 375.

2. See above, pp. 374f., 378.

Chapter Four

THE SHIP ON WHEELS

A lady lay o'er castle-wa',
Beholding dale and down,
And she beheld a bonny ship
Come sailing to the town.

Look out, look out, my maidens a',
Ye seems what I see;
For I do see as bonny a ship
As ever sailed the sea,
And the master o' her's the bonniest boy
That ever my eyes did see ...[1]

It is not surprising that Moriz' Turnierfahrt, like those of Ulrich, took the form of an elaborate masquerade,

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1. The Kitchie Boy (Child, op.cit., No. 252), B18, C5.

for this type of emprise fulfilled all the demands of the occasion.

In the first place, it offered the knight an ideal opportunity for lavish display within the framework of some definite plan - organized extravagance being naturally far more effective than a mere casual dissipation of wealth, as well as satisfying that craving for ordered form which characterized the chivalric way of life in all its aspects. It also gave ample scope to the medieval passion for dressing-up and play-acting and every kind of romantic "let's pretend". In the Frauendienst, where the venture is on a much larger scale than in Moriz von Craûn, both these factors lead to a certain amount of tension between Ulrich, as author of the whole scheme, who constantly seeks to monopolize the centre of the stage, and his envious peers, who under a show of co-operation are really trying to steal some of the limelight for themselves. In our poem the issue is simplified and the supremacy of the hero goes unchallenged, both he and his fellow-knights entering into the game with almost childlike zest. As the ship trundles across country his "crew" go through the motion of rowing, singing what we may guess to be a species of shanty as they pull at the oars (750ff.); when Moris takes up his position before the castle

walls he casts his anchors (made specially of bronze, like those of the real ships in Kudrun 1109, so that they would be in no danger from the Magnetic Mountain!) on to the "shore" of the meadow (893f.); when there is a danger of the tourney being abandoned after the death of one of the participants, Moris begs the knights jestingly not to leave him there to "drown" (922ff.). The poet himself catches something of the spirit of the venture. Moriz is the schifman (742, 771, 816, 919), the schifhêrre (1007), his men are marnaere (750) or even galiotten (870), and it is a rehter segelwint that finally brings them to the harbour of their destination (762f.). The very length and detail of the description of the ship, interspersed with exclamations of wonder and admiration - künde ich iuz gesagen! (637), ir erfreischtet dâ vor nie / dehein schif sô maere! (1058f.) - is sufficient proof of his enthusiasm.

But all this make-believe was not without its meaning. A further advantage of the masquerade was that it could, by means of symbolism or some other recognised token, be made to convey a certain message to those for whom it was designed. When Ulrich chose to impersonate a well-known character of mythology or romance in the Venusfahrt and Artusfahrt his meaning is obvious enough. We must assume

that Moriz too, in adopting the rather less literary, rather more mechanical, device of the ship on wheels had a particular reason for his choice.

At the outset one must admit that there is something about ships in general which holds a peculiar fascination for the human mind. Even today, when they have lost so much of the poetry and the mystery which formerly surrounded them, we are apt to find our emotions suddenly and unaccountably stirred by the sight even of the most prosaic vessel under way, and in earlier times all kinds of idealized conceptions of ships romantic, marvellous, splendidly adorned, impossibly lovely, seem to have haunted the imaginations of men.

There are the ships of medieval romance, such as that of Guigemar, with its ebony pins and its silken sails,[1] or the magic boat that brings Partonopeus of Blois to his fairy mistress:-

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1. Marie de France, Guigemar 151ff. It is interesting to note that the principal item of furniture on board this ship is the magnificent bed, the description of which corresponds very closely to that in Moriz von Craûn, with its gold and ivory inlay work a l'oevre Salemun, its quilt of gold brocade and its coverlet of sables.

Li très est tos de soie fine;
Onques n'ot tel rois ne roine:
De soie fu toe li funains...1

or, as it is described in the German version of Konrad von Würzburg:-

Das selbe schif mit starken
listen was gezieret,
und allenthalp gewieret
mit golds und mit gesteine...2

or again, the little ship in the Estoire del Saint Graal:-

Chele nef estoit petite toute d'argent et si estoit li mas d'or et la voile autressi blanchoians come nois négie...3

There are the ships of early French lyric poetry, such as that from the fifteenth-century chanson:-

Que faire s'amour me laisse?
Nuit et jour ne puis dormir.
Quand je suis la nuyt couchée
Me souvient de mon amy.
Je m'y levay toute nue
Et prins ma robbe de gris;
Passé par la fauce porte
M'en entray en nos jardrins;
J'ouy chanter l'alouecte
Et le rousignol jolis,
Qui disoit en son langaige:
Veez cy mes amours venir,
En ung beau basteau sur Seine
Qui est couvert de sappin;

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1. Partonopeus de Blois 753ff.

2. Partonopier und Meliûr 636ff.

3. Estoire del Saint Graal (ed. E. Hucher, Le Mans 1875-78), II, 354.

Les cordons en sont de saye,
La voille en est de satin;
Le grant mast en est d'iviere,
L'estournay en est d'or fin;
Les mariniers qui le mayment
Ne sont pas de ce pais ...[1]

Following the same tradition, there are the ships of French folksong:-

Farèi fare una barca
Tota or e argen fin,
E la metrai sus aiga
Per ela descrubir ...[2]

or:-

Falira la la
Ne craignez rien, la belle,
Falira dondé
Venez vous promener,
Falira la la
Mon bateau est d'ivoire,
Falira dondé
Sa voile est argentée ...[3]

or the superb vessel of the pirate Forban:-

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1. Chansons du XVe. siècle (ed. Paris-Gevaert, SATF., Paris 1935), No. XCIX. The opening lines of this song introduce the characteristic French tones of the girl who rises early in the morning and goes down into the garden to hear the birds (especially the nightingale) singing, and to meet her true-love. See Chapter II, pp.66ff.

2. G. Doncieux - J. Tiersot, Le Romancéro Populaire de la France (Paris 1904), p. 138.

3. J. Bujeaud, Chants et Chansons Populaires des Provinces de l'Ouest, II (Niort 1896), p. 172. It will be noted that both this and the foregoing are songs of the quest for the wife or bride.

En soie était sa voilure,
En or était sa mâture,
Sa coque était en argent,
Et ses hublots en diament...[1]

In Britain there are the "goodly ships" of the folk-ballad, especially frequent in Scots balladry, bedecked with gold and precious stones, hung about with silver bells, covered over with pearl, with their oars and masts of gold, their silken tackle, their sails of taffeta or satin or fine embroidery.[2] From Scotland too comes the dream-ship of William Dunbar:-

Quhair sone vnto my dremis fantesy
I saw approche agane the orient sky
Ane saill, as quhite as blosome upon spray,
With mast of gold, bricht as the stern of day,
Quilk tendit to the land full lustely...[3]

which finds its parallel in Holland:-

My docht, ick was in eender droomen
op eenen hooghen berch al by de zee,
al waer dat ick van veer sach commen
een schip seer costelijck al naer de ree.
Het schip dat was van wit ivoire,
gheel ingheleyt met ebbenhoudt,
van achter ende oock van vore,
maer de masten waren van goudt.

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1. Text communicated orally by M. Jacques Mariès.

2. Eg. Child, op. cit., No. 5 (Gil Brenton) C. 15,16; No.53 (Young Beichan) H.29; No. 58 (Sir Patrick Spens) L 1; No.62 (Fair Annie) A 9, 10; No.76 (Lass of Roch Royal) B 5, and Add. Versions Vol. III, p. 511 and Vol. IV, p. 472; No. 167 (Sir Andrew Barton) A 75; No.243 (The Daemon Lover) A 26, B 8, C 10, F 9; No. 252 (The Kitchie Boy) A 12, E 1; etc.

3. The Goldin Terge VI, 46ff.

Von syde soo waren de cabels en touwen,
die seylen waren van goudtlaecken schoon;
geen winden noch onweer mocht ick aenschouwen,
twas den schoonsten dach vant hemels troon;
haer ballast waren diamanten,
't wasser voorwaer een grooten lust
dat schipken te sien aen alle oanten
dat het seer schoon was toegerust. 1

From these bright visions it is only a step into the realm of pure fantasy, like the Rococo ship of Watteau's Embarquement pour Cythère, all gilding and lace and ribbons and flying amoretti in a golden haze, or its poetic equivalent in Gautier's Barcarolle:-

L'aviron est d'ivoire,
Le pavillon de moire,
Le gouvernail d'or fin:
J'ai pour lest une orange,
Pour voile une aile d'ange,
Pour mousse, un séraphin...2

or, more naively, the Corsican lullaby:-

Siete voi la mia barchetta,
Che camina con baldanza,
Carica d'oru e di perli,
Carica di merci e panni;
Le veli so di bruccatu
Venuti da mari indani,
Li timoni d'oru fini
Con li lauri piu rari... 3

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1. F. van Duyse, Het oude nederlandsche Lied (Hague 1903), No. 114, pp. 451ff.

2. Th. Gautier, Poésies complètes (Paris 1922), I, p. 317.

3. Canteloube, op. cit., I, 358.

or even the English nursery-rhyme:-

I saw a ship a-sailing
A-sailing on the sea,
And oh, but it was laden
With pretty things for me.
There were comfits in the cabin
And sweetmeats in the hold,
The sails were made of silk
And the masts were made of gold.

Such splendours as these could only imperfectly be translated into reality, in spite of all the attempts of the Middle Ages and even later periods to endow the ship with an aesthetic and ornamental rather than a purely functional beauty. But in the dream-world of the pageant no such obstacles existed, and in pageantry of every kind the magnificent artificial ship has always enjoyed high favour.

We find it in private entertainments such as the masque or the banquet interlude, and in diversions on the grand scale designed for a court or aristocratic public. For instance, at the dinner given to the Emperor Charles IV by Charles V of France a ship of war was borne into the middle of the hall on concealed machinery - sans qu'on apercut les ressorts qui le faisaient movoir - with the figure of Godfrey de Bouillon at the helm surrounded by armed knights.[1] The

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1. Cripps-Day, History of the Tournament, p. 17, note 2, and Leber, op. cit., X, p. 157.

wedding masque of Prince Arthur and Katherine of Aragon in 1501 included a tableau vivant of "a ship with masts, sails and tackle all complete"; the masquers on board acted the part of seamen and at the poop stood a girl impersonating the princess of Spain.[1] At the christening feast of Prince Henry, son of James VI, the masque in the banqueting hall included a huge ship with musicians and singers on board, the crew being dressed in taffeta and the pilot in cloth of gold.[2]

Occasionally we find these ships specifically associated with a tournament. When Henry VIII went a-Maying in 1510 he was greeted on his return from the woods by a ship called Fame, which had for cargo Renown: the shippe shotte a pele of Gunys and sayled forth before the kynges compaignie, ful of flagges and banners, till it came to the tilte yearde.[3] In 1634 a grand tournament was held at Rome with a pageant in which il y avoit encore vn grand batteau & vn fort beau nauire qui paroissoient sur les ondes de la mer tres-bien

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1. R. Withington, English Pageantry (Cambridge 1918), I, pp. 113f.

2. Withington, op. cit., I, pp. 218f.

3. Edward Hall, Life of Henry VIII (ed. Whibley, London 1904), I, pp. 28f.

representées, conduits par des Matelots et enuironnez sur le dehors de plusieurs Tritons & Serenes; Ils estoient tapissez & couuerts de toile d'or & enuironnez de balustres dorez, les cordes, les eschelles & les mats estoient argentez, & les voiles d'incarnat & d'azur, charges de mouches à miel ... de deuises, d'emblemes et des armes entieres ... le Dieu Bachus & le concert des Nymphes, des Bergers, du Ris & de la Ioye estoient sur lesdits nauires chantans melodieusement.[1]

The ship on wheels also forms part of the regular stock in trade of those pageants which were held publicly in honour of some State or Royal festivity, and which united all classes, high and low alike, in a common celebration - for as long as the ceremony of court or government still remained spontaneous and personal, rather than the formal ritual which it has become today, occasions of national or civic rejoicing tended to be an inextricable blend of the official function and the popular show.

Thus in 1313, after the birth of Edward III, the Mayor and aldermen of London led the dance in person through the city, accompanied by an impromptu escort from the guild of

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1. La Colombière, op. cit., I, p. 514.

Fishmongers, splendidly apparelled, who met Queen Isabel with dancing at Westminster and brought her on her way to Eltham to the delight of all beholders: *coram quibus præibat quædam navis, quodam mirabili ingenio operata cum malo et velo erectis, et depictis de supradictis armis* (i.e. the arms of England and France) *et varietate plurima*[1]. The same procession is described in the *Chronique de Londres*: *En mesme l'an fu né sire Edward de Wyndesore fitz le roy de dame Isabele la reyne ... en cele an, li dimeigne après la chaundelure, firent les pessoners de Loundres une nief siglaunt par my chepe ieske à Weimouster.*[2]

Again, when the young king Henry VI of England was crowned at Paris in 1431, the pageant at St Denis included a ship covered with silver.[3] The entry of Mary Tudor into Paris in 1513 as the bride of Louis XII was celebrated by a procession in which another silver ship figured prominently enough to be singled out for special mention by two contem-

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1. *Annales Londonienses* I, p. 221, quoted Withington, *op. cit.*, I, p. 126.

2. *Chroniques de Londres* (ed. G.J. Aungier for the Camden Society, London 1844), p. 37, quoted Withington, *loc. cit.*

3. Withington, *op. cit.*, I, p. 139.

porary accounts:[1] A l'entree de ladite uille auoit ung grant escharfault sur lequel avoit une grande nauire dargent sur une mer ... & dedans ladite nauire estoient matelots & autres personnages lesquelz chantoient melodieusement & aux deux bouts de ladite nauire estoient les armes de lhostel de ladite ville. In the magnifique et admirable Carrosel which took place in Paris in April 1612 to celebrate the double wedding of Louis XIII and his sister to the Infanta and Prince of Spain, silver had given way to gold and the sails and cordage were of costly material and brilliantly coloured: Vn Nauire tout doré, fretté de cordes de soye incarnate & les voiles de taffetas incarnat, gris de lin, jaune & bleu, conduit sur vne Mer de gase bleue et argent.[2] And examples of the same kind could be multiplied.

But the regions where the pageant ship enjoyed its greatest and most lasting popularity were undoubtedly the Low Countries, especially Flanders, extending to N.E. France on one side and the Rhineland on the other. This was noted by Zarncke in the Introduction to his edition of Sebastian Brandt's Narrenschiff:-[3]

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1. Withington, op. cit., I, p. 171 and Leber, op. cit., X, p. 187.
2. La Colombière, op. cit., I, pp. 412ff.
3. Leipzig 1854, p. LXIII, note 1.

> "Zu lande umhergefahrene Schiffe spielen bei den lustbarkeiten der Niederländer ... eine grosse rolle. so zogen die einwohner von Huy, als der bischof von Lättich ihre stadt zu besuchen kam, den kahn, auf dem derselbe gefahren war, mit dreissig pferden auf den marktplatz, unter dem lauten jubel der umstehenden ... man halte hiermit zusammen den Brüsseler ommeganck, eine halb lustige halb ernste religiöse christliche procession, in dessen erster abtheilung neben riesenbildern, drachen, dem glücksrad, auch von pferden gezogene schiffe erschienen, ja, dass solche schiffe noch bis auf diese stunde in allen belgischen cavalcaden vorkommen."

This Brussels Ommeganck, though strictly speaking a yearly festival with its roots in folk-lore observance, was sometimes harnessed to some special State occasion. The Ommeganck of 1615, for instance, which took place on May 31, was held in honour of Archduchess Isabella, daughter of Philip II of Spain, and for this reason was recorded for posterity by the Flemish painter Denis van Alsloot. In his extraordinarily accurate and detailed representation[1] we can see, bringing up the rear of the procession, the ship-car which had first made its appearance more than fifty years before at the funeral pageant in honour of Charles V,

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1. Isabella's Triumph, edited with an introduction by James Laver (Faber 1947); the ship-car appears, with descriptive comments, in Plate 12. See also the engraving reproduced in the Appendix.

and which caused such a stir that it became thenceforth a regular feature of the annual celebrations.

Already in 1520 Dürer had witnessed on the course of his journey through the Netherlands an impressive cavalcade at Antwerp on August 19, the Sunday after the Feast of the Assumption, in which among the viel wagen und andern bollwerk he particularly noticed the spiel auff schiffen.[1] Nearly three centuries later, when Napoleon was received at Antwerp in 1803, a ship-car still featured prominently in the grooten Omegang organized for the occasion,[2] and later still, when Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort visited Belgium in 1839, the procession arranged in their honour included once again a ship on wheels.[3]

Sometimes this ship acquired a patriotic flavour. Withington quotes two examples from Malines,[4] one the ship, symbole du bien-être de la patrie, which appeared in a pro-

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1. The description is recorded in his journal for that date; see H. Rupprich, Albrecht Dürers Schriftlicher Nachlass (Berlin 1956), I, p. 153.

2. Withington, op. cit., I, p. 254.

3. Withington, op. cit., I, p. 256.

4. Op. cit., pp. 12f. giving as his source Quenson, Geyant, le Géant de Douai: sa Famille et sa Procession (Douai 1839), p. 10, note 3, and Mme Clement, Histoire des Fêtes Civiles et Religieuses de la Belgique méridionale (Avesnes 1846), pp. 249, 251.

cession on August 15, 1838, and another from the year 1825, which was called "La Prosperité du Pays" and manned by an odd crew consisting of the captain, St Catherine, an angel, an American and two Chinese.

It must be admitted that the ship on wheels is admirably adapted for pageantry. Quite apart from its poetic and imaginative appeal, and the scope it offers for pomp and glitter, it has many practical advantages, being ideally suited to serve as a background for heraldic devices, as a platform for tableaux vivants, or as a moving stage for companies of singers and musicians.

In addition to all this it possesses the fascination of sheer technical ingenuity. Any society with an open fondness for display and with leisure and money to indulge its tastes and to command the services of skilled craftsmen will set great store by imposing "machinery". Nevertheless, it is an appetite that can eventually become dulled or sated. The pageant ships which have been cited from the Renaissance and Baroque periods give the impression of being mere costly toys, whose sole function is to divert the court and dazzle the common herd, and whose sophisticated mythological trappings and conventional opulence are noted in the

catalogues of parade engines with no more than a cool *très-bien représenté*, or a *fort beau*, or at most a *magnifique et admirable* to commend them. The courtier, one feels, has become blasé, and more popular audiences are content to enjoy the gaudiness of the spectacle without turning an appraising eye on the methods by which it has been contrived. Whereas in the Middle Ages the capacity for enjoyment and enthusiasm was still fresh and unspoilt among all sections of society. The crowd which assembles to gaze at the ship in *Moriz von Craûn* is not composed entirely of commoners - among them are *ritter unde frouwen* (759) who mingle freely in the throng of bystanders as pleased and curious and excited as anyone there.

An elaborate piece of machinery of this type had of course considerable prestige value as an instrument of conspicuous consumption. It was a proof that the possessor was wealthy enough to own not only the work but the workman as well, and medieval nobles vied with each other in bidding for the services of outstanding craftsmen and attaching them to their persons. To have such men at their beck and call, ministering to their greater glory by executing whatever commands their patrons chose to lay upon them, would be in itself an honorific thing; but since only the costliest

materials were worthy of the highest technical skill, the fit realisation of the noble design involved a double financial outlay which those concerned were very far from wishing to disguise. Discreet expensiveness of the kind which nowadays passes for good taste served no purpose and held no attractions - it was size and showiness that counted.

But though the medieval public was impressed by these things, it was also passionately interested in the actual mechanism of the contrivance - les ressorts qui le faisoient movoir - which for their part the craftsmen naturally strove to make as mysterious as possible. This delight in ingenuity for its own sake emerges very clearly from the contemporary account of that medieval ship pageant which is nearest both in time and in spirit to that of Moris von Craûn - the magnificent reception given at Cologne (the Rhineland again!) in May 1235 to welcome Isabel of England, consort of the Emperor Frederick II, on German soil:-

> "Advenerunt etiam per excogitatum ingenium naves, quasi remigantes per aridam, equis absconditis et tectis sericis coopertoriis illas trahentibus; in quibus navibus clerici suaviter modulantes cum organis bene sonantibus audientibus inauditas cum stupore fecerunt melodias." 1

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1. Matthew Paris, Chron. Maj. III, pp. 321f.

Here the parallel to Moriz von Craûn is remarkably close, extending even to concrete details such as the singing and playing of the musicians on shipboard, the realistic pretence of rowing and the way in which the horses drawing the ships were cunningly concealed by hangings of silk. If Moriz von Craûn is dated rather later than is generally assumed, it may even be that the German poet has this Cologne festival in mind when he speaks of the ship as being als ein schif gescheemet / daz ze Kölne solte fliezen (640f.).

In the same way what impresses him about the ship is not just its richness of silk and silver and scarlet, but the skill with which it is constructed, the combination of guot und wîsheit (633) which he stresses at the very outset. His description of the building of the ship is oddly business-like in its detailed precision - the bünen und beschiezen (642), the boring of the holes for the lances (644), the making of the wheeled framework on which the ship itself rests (650ff.), and the way in which the horses were harnessed inside it so that they were invisible under the cloth hangings that formed the "hull" of the vessel (723ff.). More than once he declares that words fail him in paying just tribute to the wîsheit (633), the liste (723), the

kundiger sin (730) of the master entrusted with the work, and when he uses of him the phrase er kêrte allen sînen vlîz / an disen truckenen[1] kiel (666f.), he does not scruple to apply to him the expression frequently used to denote the patient and loving care expended by the Creator on the works of His hands.[2]

However, in spite of this favourite conception of God as the supreme Artificer, the most highly prized workmanship did not consist in the mere copying of the Divine handiwork in Nature. In the Middle Ages the form of natural objects was not on the whole felt to be something deserving of respect or study on its own account, except as a manifestation of the Divine Will. It belonged to a familiar but essentially impermanent order of outward shapes, accepted without question for the time being because God had willed them so, but chiefly important as mirrors and symbols of the unseen eternal world, and therefore not in themselves sacred or

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1. This is Schroeder's reading. Pretzel follows the MS. in proposing tüechenen.

2. E.g. Walther, Gedichte 53, 35f: got hât ir wengel hôhen flîz, / er streich sô tiure varwe dar; Partonopier 7872f.: got selber sich vil harte fleiz / dô si geschuof sîn meisterschaft; Wigalois 3857f.: ez hât unser herre Krist / sînen vlîz dar an geleit. Cf. also Parzival III, 438ff.: an ir was künste niht vermiten / got selbe worhte ir süezen lîp.

immutable.[1] Moreover, the natural object was not yet liable to that competition from the synthetic substitute which has in modern times reversed the relative value of the genuine and the artificial. Today the "real thing" tends to acquire the prestige of rarity or exclusiveness or inconvenience, while the artificial substitute is looked at somewhat askance - cheap imitations being regarded as inferior, costly imitations as vulgar or tasteless. In the Middle Ages artificiality had not yet lost its glamour. The highest flights of artistic achievement aimed at creating what was essentially unnatural, in that it was either superior to Nature or contrary to it. Art had its starting-point in reality, but its true function was in one way or another to transcend, rather than reproduce, the natural order. To outshine Nature altogether was possible only in the fantasy-world of poetry, where the wildest caprices of the imagination could be indulged without restraint. One thinks of Enite's horse, half-black, half-white, with a green streak running round its body and green rings round each eye,[2] or of the dog

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1. Cf. Lewis Mumford, Technics and Civilisation (London 1934), p. 29: "In the Middle Ages, as Emile Mâle has said, the idea of a thing which a man formed for himself was always more real than the actual thing itself... The study of things for their own sake held no meaning for the thoughtful man".

2. Erec 7285ff.

Petitcriu, coloured with all the hues of the rainbow, here in patches, there iridescent.[1] To us such things appear grotesque, even a little repulsive, but in their day they were doubtless felt to be marvels beyond compare - ditz wâren seltsaeniu ding - whose fairy-tale unreality was a virtue, a heightening of beauty, rather than a fault. Pictorial art too could, within the limits of technical accomplishment, go far towards overleaping the barriers of factual truth in the quest for aesthetic perfection. A glance at the contemporary illustrations of chivalric romance is sufficient to show this, even without such very revealing remarks as that of the author of the Nibelungenlied when he describes Siegfried as being so beautiful, that he might have been a miniature painted on parchment.[2]

As far as actual life was concerned, this adorning of Nature, though at best it must have been halting and inadequate by comparison, could be most fully realized by that same blend of technical ingenuity and costly materials which has already been mentioned. The secular treasures of the Middle Ages have all but perished, yet one feels that such works of art as the portrait statue of Isolde, with its

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1. Tristan 15809ff.

2. Nibelungenlied 286, 1-3.

robes of purple and ermine, and the vessel of perfumes which served it for a heart, whose fragrance was conveyed by golden tubes to mouth and nape of neck,[1] or the animated statues of the Roman de Troie[2] and the Pèlerinage Charlemagne,[3] the mechanical singing birds, the trees with gold and silver leaves, and all the other gorgeous baubles of which the romances tell, must have had their counterparts, however imperfect, in real life. So Moriz' ship is both a conscious imitation of reality[4] and a work of art which passes beyond reality into a world of aesthetic values.

It is more even than this. It is not only an improvement on Nature, but a positive reversal of Nature. The more severely rationalistic outlook of the eighteenth century might condemn the "dry land ship" as being a contradiction of Nature

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1. Thomas, Le Roman de Tristan (ed. Bédier, SATF., Paris 1902), I, 310ff.

2. Roman de Troie 14711ff.

3. Pèlerinage Charlemagne 352ff.

4. In spite of this appearance of accuracy, there are certain inherent improbabilities and inconsistencies which make one doubt how far the poet really visualised the ship. For instance, is the entire outfit of the expedition, including the nine destriers, and all the retinue of squires, etc. conveyed on board, or does the ship simply form the central item in a cavalcade such as constituted part of the usual preliminaries to the tournament?

and therefore in bad taste,[1] but for the Middle Ages this paradoxical element would only be an added attraction. It would arouse the same sense of the piquant and unexpected as Ulrich's masquerade in woman's dress; how keenly both he and his audiences relished the situation is clear from the lively excitement with which he was surrounded everywhere he went. So our poet revels in his incongruous vision of sails, oars, rudder and anchor lumbering over dry land propelled by invisible means:-

734 der ez sache mit den ougen
der swüere wol ez waere ein troum.

The ship is ein wunderlîches dinc (679), ez stuont an truckenem gestade (684), daz solte gân âne were / über velt als ûfem mere (629f.), Moriz is the schifman / der über lant der guan (919f.) or (der) über lant flôz (973). The whole matter is summed up in 1058ff.:-

ir erfreischtet dâ vor nie
dehein schif sô maere,
daz âne wazzer waere.

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1. Le P. Menestrier, Des entrées solonelles et receptions des princes, etc., 1701 (published in Leber, op. cit., XIII, Paris 1838, pp. 119ff.), p. 150:
"Il ne faut pas représenter ... un vaisseau en terre ferme; ce sont des impertinences dont Horace s'est moqué..."

Thus the tournament ship combined pageantry and drama, the charm of masquerade and the charm of ingeniously-devised machinery, realism and fantasy, poetry and paradox. Yet the reasons for the choice lie deeper still. In view of the medieval feeling for symbolical form in all the significant gestures of life, it would be surprising if it were not imbued with some inner meaning, appropriate to the situation from which it sprang and intelligible to those for whom its message was intended. It is indeed more than likely that the whole conception of the ship is a piece of conscious - perhaps only halfconscious - symbolism, whose roots lie in a past that was already remote even in the thirteenth century. To understand its full import, it will be necessary to examine in some detail the position of the ship on wheels in folk-lore and folk custom, and the associations bound up with it. For the more one studies this question, the more ancient and widespread its ramifications appear.

Among the ritual practices of many different peoples, especially seafaring communities, at many different periods, the ship, as the chief means of subsistence and hence as a symbol of prosperity, naturally plays an important part. The beginning of the fair-weather season in particular, when the sea is once more open to navigation, tends to be celebrated

in several ways, most of which involve the taking round of a ship - a model or sacred boat, or even a real vessel - over land in a solemn procession which frequently culminates in a ceremonial launching. This connexion both with the spring-time and with prosperity, that is, fruitfulness, coupled with the immemorial association of the ship with the bed and the use of the ship, for obvious reasons, as a female symbol, also leads to the persistent occurrence of ships in fertility rites of various kinds. Plenty of examples far distant in space[1] or time[2] might be quoted in support of this, but there is no lack of evidence among the more familiar nations of Western Europe.

Ship-processions were a common feature, for instance, of the popular religious observances of ancient Greece and Rome. There was the great "Pan-Athenaic" festival at Athens, where a ship on wheels was drawn slowly through the

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1. Instances from the Far East are cited by Mannhardt, Wald- und Feldkulte (Berlin 1875), I, 593; by Fraser, The Golden Bough (3rd edn., London 1913), I, p. 251, note 3; by Oscar Almgren, Nordische Felszeichnungen als religiöse Urkunden (Frankfurt a.M. 1934), p. 63, etc.

2. Almgren, op. cit., pp. 32ff. quotes examples of cult-ships from Assyria, Babylon and ancient Egypt, going back as early as 2600 BC.

city to the Acropolis, with the peplos of the goddess as a sail,[1] or the spring festivals of Dionysos, in which a ship-car, sometimes displaying a richly-adorned bed, was drawn through the town accompanied by music and dancing of a wild erotic nature.[2] Similar practices were observed by the Romans. Usener quotes an eighteenth-century satire which mentions the currus navicullis simillimos, quibus Romanae matronae vehi solent per bacchenalia.[3] So also to mark the coming of spring, the Romans used on the fifth day of March to launch a ship consecrated to Isis in a ceremony which was popularly known as "Isidis navigium".[4]

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1. Almgren, op.cit., p. 31, and H. Usener, Die Sintfluthsagen (Bonn 1899), p. 125.

2. Almgren, op.cit., p. 29, Usener, op.cit., pp.115ff., and A. Frickenhaus, "Der Schiffswagen des Dionysos" (Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Berlin 1912, pp. 61ff.).

3. Op. cit., p. 119, note 4: "L. Sectani Q. fil. de tota Graeculorum huius aetatis literatura" by the Jesuit Giulio Cesare Cordara (Hague 1758), p. 33. Almgren, op.cit., p. 28 mentions a wall-painting from Ostia showing such a ship-waggon.

4. Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie (2nd edn., Göttingen 1844), I, p. 336; F.Cumont, Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism (Chicago 1911), p. 97; Almgren, op.cit., p. 27 describes a similar Isis festival at Corinth.

Reports of similar practices among certain Germanic communities on the Elbe, suggesting to Tacitus the mistaken belief that the actual cult of Isis had penetrated to the barbarians, led him to write in Germania chap. 9: Pars Sueborum et Isidi sacrificat: unde causa et origo peregrino sacro, parum comperi, nisi quod signum in modum liburnae figuratum docet advectam religionem. Though Tacitus gives no details of the ritual connected with this "signum", it is at least possible that a second well-known passage from the Germania is relevant here, namely the account in chap. 40 of the worship of Nerthus, terram matrem, among seven tribes which Mannhardt locates in the regions round Schleswig-Holstein.[1] Every year with the first signs of the coming of spring, the waggon of the deity was brought from the sacred grove, drawn through all the surrounding countryside and finally brought to the waters of a lake for ritual lustration. During this festival all feuds ceased and there was universal concord and good-will, the purpose of the ceremony being apparently to ensure peace and plenty during the coming year.[2]

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1. Op. cit., I, p. 568.

2. The wain of Nerthus was hung about with cloths or garments (vehiculum veste contectum) and drawn by cows (bubus feminis). It is interesting to note that both these features characterise the Italian carroccio - the wheeled structure to which the standard was attached in battle,

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This equating of Nerthus with the Earth-Mother of numerous Mediterranean cults may well be another misapprehension on the part of Tacitus, for the only Germanic deity known to us from native sources who bears this name is the Norse Njǫrðr - a male divinity. Njǫrðr seems to belong to a more ancient stratum of belief than his offspring Freyr and Freyja, the "Lord" and "Lady" of the spring and hence of peace and fruitfulness, who perhaps represent a later differentiation of the primitive deity into distinct "male" and "female" aspects; and he may originally have been a god of navigation,[1] who would naturally tend to become identified with the god of plenty among those tribes in the coastal

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supplying both a rallying point and a symbol of victory - which was draped with red or white cloth and drawn by oxen (G. Ferrario, op. cit., II, pp. 61ff.). Does some memory of this ancient custom survive in the draping of the ships (tectis sericis coopertoriis) in the Cologne pageant of 1235, and the hangings of scarlet cloth with which the ship in Moriz von Craûn is adorned? It has been suggested by J. Schwietering, Typologisches in mittelalterlicher Dichtung, pp. 51ff. that Moriz' ship is in fact based on the carroccio. Certainly the allusion in 738 to the lampartischer van shows that the German poet at least knew of them and had some idea of their appearance.

1. It is significant that in Norse mythology the dwelling of Njǫrðr is "Nóatún" - the place of ships.

regions of Scandinavia and North Germany whose prosperity depended on seafaring rather than agriculture. In which case it is certainly possible that the waggon of Nerthus had the form of a ship, and may even be related to the ship-cult among the Suebi mentioned in Germania 9.[1]

It is an indubitable fact that the ship on wheels figured in Germanic cult practices from a very early date, either in connexion with navigation or more probably with fertility. Robert Stumpfl, basing his conclusions on the prehistoric rock-drawings of Sweden, assumes ship-processions to have existed on Germanic territory as far back as the Bronze and early Iron Ages.[2] Almgren points out[3] that the absence of mast and oars on these rock-tracing ships indicates that they were not intended to represent seagoing vessels; some tracings, which show them drawn by men or horses, prove that they were in fact land ships, or

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1. This theory is advanced by Simrock, Deutsche Mythologie (2nd edn., Bonn 1864), p. 341, and by several other scholars.

2. R. Stumpfl, Kultspiele der Germanen als Ursprung des mittelalterlichen Dramas (Berlin 1936), p. 160, note 132, and p. 369: "Schiffe oder Schiffswagen mit Scheiben und Rädern finden sich schon auf skandinavischen Felsbildern der Bronzezeit".

3. Almgren, op.cit., p. 2.

ship-wains. In one rock-tracing from Bohuslän the ship clearly has the character of a bed.[1]

With the conversion of Western Europe to Christianity these pagan rites would naturally cease to exist in their primitive form. But not all the opposition of the Church could eradicate them entirely. Though the ancient associations have in the course of centuries been forgotten, or remembered only in a dim and distorted fashion, the ceremonial parading round of a ship, to the accompaniment of music, dancing and revelry still persists in many places even up to the present day as part of the festivities ushering in the spring, or extending into the summer months.

In Latin countries such ship-processions have for the most part been overlaid with Christian significance, but their original pagan character is only thinly obscured.[2]

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1. Almgren, op. cit., p. 72: "Man sieht unten in der Mitte, dicht über einem Schiffe, einen liegenden phallischen Mann, über den sich eine weibliche Halbfigur zu erheben scheint".

2. Albinia Wherry, "The Dancing-Tower Processions of Italy" (Folk-Lore XVI, 1905, pp. 243ff.) describes on p.250 the festival of Santa Rosalia at Palermo in the early nineteenth century. Ostensibly this festival commemorates the staying of the plague at Palermo in 1635 at the intercession of the saint, but this Christian significance lies very much on the surface: "On June 24th, Midsummer Day, the sleigh or trolly which carries the car is thrown

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In England, as in Germany, some echo of ritual meaning still seems to linger on.[1] Though they are now inevitably tending to die out unless artificially kept alive, many examples of

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into the sea amid universal rejoicings to be withdrawn a few days later. On July 11th, the car, a huge structure 30 metres high and 22 broad is drawn through the streets by twenty yoke of oxen. On its summit stands Santa Rosalia ... The lowest platform of the car, which is profusely decorated and painted, has the form of a ship". A description of a similar ceremony at Casteltermini is given on p. 256, note 1: "At Casteltermini there has been held from time immemorial a festival of a more or less religious character. On this occasion a high tower mounted on a car having the form of a ship is drawn in procession through the streets by oxen". Elsewhere the presence of the ship is accounted for by some aetiological Christian legend, as in the festival of the Lilies of Nola, described on pp. 247f. where the ship-car is associated with the return of St Paulinus from a missionary voyage. Cf. also Folk Lore XII, 1901, pp. 307ff. for an account of the ship-festival at Préjus in Provence, and Almgren, op. cit., p. 340.

1. This is suggested by the fact that the ship is frequently accompanied by the plough, the symbol of agricultural prosperity. Documents from Eger mention a ship being taken round with a plough as early as 1483 (A. Spamer, Deutsche Fastnachtbräuche, Jena 1936, pp. 51f.). Cf. also the prohibition from Ulm cited below. In England too, combined plough and ship processions are recorded; for instance the Weekly Supplement to the Yorkshire Herald for June 18, 1927, states that "each Plough Monday a party of plough boys from Poppleton entered the city of York and carried a plough through the streets followed by the sword dancers, and others pretending to be seafaring men carried on their shoulders a model of a ship", and other similar folk-observances are quoted by Withington, op. cit., pp. 11ff. and by E. K. Chambers, The Mediæval Stage, Oxford 1903, I, pp. 120f.

popular ship-festivals still survived in both countries up to the end of the nineteenth century.

In England such customs were most common in the south-west, where the seafaring tradition has always been strong, and were usually associated with the May Day celebrations.[1] In Germany, on the other hand, the ship on wheels is primarily associated with the Carnival festivities of the late winter

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1. Chambers, op.cit., p. 121: "Ship processions are to be found ... at Minehead, Plymouth and Devonport in the West of England, and probably also at Hull in the North. P. H. Ditchfield, Old English Customs, London 1896, p.103 (quoted by Chambers, loc.cit.) describes the May Day customs at Minehead, where the men used to fashion a cardboard ship about ten feet long, with sails trimmed with flags and ribbons. Worth, in the Transactions of the Devonshire Association XV, p. 104, gives an account of the May Day ship of Millbrook: "The ship as I recollect it first was a large and handsome model of a man-of-war, full-rigged and perhaps five to six feet long, resting on a perfect sea of flowers and carried shoulder high by four men ... It is interesting to note that there are lines of evidence that would make the festival in its present form a survival of very early days indeed. The carrying of a ship through the streets was one of the chief features of the celebration of the feast of Corpus Christi in old Plymouth ... I have no doubt, therefore, that the Millbrook ship is the lineal descendant of the ship at Corpus Christi, the chief feature in the chief pageant of mediaval Plymouth, and as little that the latter was itself the survival of the ship-carrying of the older Teutonic races". One might also quote the Morning Song of Padstow (S. Baring-Gould and H. Fleetwood Sheppard, A Garland of Country Song, London 1895, pp. 91f.) where the May Day celebrations still persist up to the present day: "Young men of Padstow ya co'ld / The summer and the May, O,/ Gild you a ship all of gold,/ And winter is away, O."

or early spring.[1] In places where the ship is a mainstay in the life of the local community, that is, near the sea[2] or on some lake[3] or important waterway,[4] these customs are

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1. This is, of course, not confined to Germany. Usener, op. cit., p. 120, quoted instances of ships in Carnival processions from Italy, France, Spain and Portugal. So strong is the association of the ship with Carnival-tide, in fact, that the word "Carnival" itself has often been derived from "Carrus navalis". Cf. C. Clemen, "Der Ursprung des Karnevals" (Archiv. f. Religionswissenschaft XVII, 1914, pp. 139ff.) and C. Rademacher "Carneval" (Zeitschrift d. Vereins f. rheinische u. westfalische Volkskunde XIV, pp. 64ff.).

2. At Braunsdorf, near Fürstenwalde, sailors carry a ship with them in the Carnival procession (A. Kuhn - W. Schwarz, Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche, Leipzig 1848, p. 369).

3. From Bavaria comes the Chiemgauer Schiffsumzug at Unterwessen, about three miles SW. of Traunstein. As the contours of the Chiemsee have altered, this place is now no longer on the shores of the lake, and the character of the occasion was considerably obscured when it took place for the last time in February 1911, but records of earlier celebrations show that it was unmistakably a ship-festival, possibly commemorating a real battle by water, but more probably as a Fruchtbarkeitszauber. Cf. R. Eisler, "Fischer u. Schifferbräuche aus alter u. neuer Zeit" (Bayrische Hefte f. Volkskunde I, Munich 1914, pp. 209ff.) and Eisler, "Der Chiemgauer Schiffsumzug" (Zeitschrift d. Vereins f. Volkskunde, XXI, 1911, pp. 352ff.).

4. In the Bavarian Danube regions "Fastnachtskähne" are drawn on rollers through the villages (Mannhardt, op. cit., I, p. 594, note 1). For other customs of a similar nature connected with the Danube see Simrock, op. cit., 4th edn., p. 574, E. L. Rochholz, Alemannisches Kinderlied u. Kinderspiel, Leipzig 1857, pp. 227f., and G. Gugnits, Das Jahr u. seine Feste im Volksbrauch Österreichs, Vienna 1949, pp. 34ff. For an account of the Schifferfastnacht an der Elbe, see Mitteldeutsche Blätter f. Volkskunde, 1931, p. 139.

generally of a simple and archaic type in which some element of ritual meaning may still survive. When the Carnival ship on wheels is transplanted to inland regions,[1] especially to the towns, it rapidly becomes dissociated from any inner significance and becomes a mere popular spectacle of the kind we have already mentioned in connexion with the public pageantry of court or city.

This was particularly the case in the cities of south Germany, where the Carnival ship exercised a strong appeal from quite early times. The growth of urban populations, greedy for sensations and festivities of every sort, the increase of wealth, which made it possible to organise public shows on the most lavish scale, and the group rivalries of the various guilds[2] and crafts vying with each other in out-

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1. It is especially interesting, in view of Tacitus' "pars Sueborum", that up till last century the practice survived in Swabia of placing a ship on a sledge in very early spring, when the snow was still on the ground, and dragging it through the village with a fire burning in the crow's nest and the masts hung with eatables (E. Meier, Deutsche Sagen. Sitten u. Gebräuche aus Schwaben. Stuttgart 1852, p. 374).

2. Documents from Eger mention a Schiffgangfahrt in 1474 as "Knappenbrauch der Tuchmacher" (Spamer, op.cit., p.51). The Nuremberg "Schembartlaufen" was originally the prerogative of the butchers' guild.

lay and ostentation - all these factors combined to produce Carnival celebrations of the most extravagant character. Only too often the procession itself was little more than the pretext and signal for general merry-making and indeed in some cases a record of the occasion has only come down to us because the revels led to such disorder and licentiousness that the authorities were compelled to intervene and issue an edict forbidding the pageant as a whole. Thus in 1530 the city fathers of Ulm decreed:-

> "Item es sol sich niemen mer weder tags noch nachts verbuzen, verkleiden, noch einig fassnachtkleider anziehen, ouch sich des herumfahrens des pflugs und mit den schiffen enthalten, bei straf 1. gulden". 1

Again in 1539 the famous "Schembartlaufen" at Nuremberg had to be suppressed because the populace had got out of hand, and it is duly noted in the city archives that:-

> "Das Schönbartlauffen, welches ohnedem mit verschwenderischem Pracht, grossem Missbrauch und allem Muthwillen begleitet war, von nun an verbotten wurde." 2

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1. Rathsprotokoll vom Nicolausabend 1530, quoted by Grimm, op. cit., I, p. 242, who gives a reference to C. Jäger, Schwäbisches Städtewesen des Mittelalters, I, p. 525.

2. Quoted, without naming the source, by K. Sauer, Die Meistersinger (Leipzig 1935) pp. 26f.

In this procession the ship on rollers - the "Schembarthölle" - manned by a crew of devils, fools and masked grotesques, and surrounded by a swarm of men dressed in mock "livery", was by tradition one of the principal items.[1] Eventually the association of a ship with these and similar outbursts of riotous buffoonery impressed itself on the consciousness of the age to such a degree that contemporary moralists, seeking an allegorical setting for their attacks on the follies and vices of mankind, naturally turned to the idea of a ship, and the eagerness with which their works were seized on shows that the instinct which guided their choice was not at fault.

The most celebrated of these ship-allegories is, of course, the Narrenschiff of Sebastian Brandt, first printed in 1494 zuo Basel uff die Vasennacht (!), but Zarncke in the Introduction to his edition of the Narrenschiff[2] quotes three other ship-satires from places as far apart as Austria and the Netherlands.[3]

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1. Pictures of the Nuremberg ship on wheels are published by Sauer, op.cit., p.29 (from the "Nürnbergisches Schönbartbuch" in the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg, and by Spamer, Die deutsche Volkskunde (Leipzig 1935), II, p.105, from the "Schembartbuch" now at Leipzig.

2. Pp. LXIff.

3. Das schif der fluzt by Heinrich Teichner, written in Austria in the second half of the fourteenth century; Die blauwe Schute, written in a Low German dialect by

(cont/overleaf)

The woodcut illustrations to the Narrenschiff always show a water ship, but there are one or two small indications that Brandt himself meant his Ship of Fools to be an artificial structure moving over land in the true Carnival tradition. Sometimes he actually refers to it as a Wagen or Karren, and in chap. 80 there is an illuminating passage where he tells how the Foolish Messengers who are the subject of the chapter run after the ship till they find it somewhere between "here" (i.e. Basel) and "Aachen":-

80,23f. Dem narrenschyff louffen sie nooh,
Sie fynden es hie zwüschen Ach...[1]

"Hie zwüschen Ach" - the words are not without significance. For the second main area where the Carnival ship flourishes, where its true home probably lies, and where the nearness of the Rhine suggests that it still retains some part of its original meaning, is the border territory between France and Germany - the strip of land roughly following the course

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(F/note 3 cont.prev.page)
Jacob van Oestvoren and published in 1413; and the Monopolium des Licht-(= Leicht)-schiffes by Jodocus Gallus, first published in Strassburg in 1489. This latter is explicitly stated to be a land-and-water ship: "... ut non sola naviget unda, verum aridae quoque et siccae terrae se susque commendet".

1. Archer Taylor, Journal of American Folklore, XLVII, p. 11, believes hie zwüschen Ach to be a colloquial phrase meaning "nowhere".

of the Rhine from Basel (where, as we have seen, the Narrenschiff was first published), through Strassburg (Brandt's native city and the place where Gallus' Lichtschiff was published), and up into the Low Countries, spreading eastwards to the district round Oldenburg[1] and westwards to the north-eastern corner of France. We have already shown how it was precisely in these areas, especially in Flanders and the Lower Rhineland, that the ship on wheels enjoyed its greatest and most lasting popularity in pageantry of every kind. And this must, at least in part, be due to the age-old traditions of popular ship-festivals in these regions which go back even to the cult of the Celtic (?) goddess Nehalennia, protectress of love and marriage as well as navigation.[2]

On this point scholars generally are in agreement,[3] and

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1. In the Oldenburg regions ships are put on a wain at Whitsuntide and carried through the streets (K. Strackerjan, Aberglaube und Sage aus Oldenburg, Oldenburg 1909, pp. 47, 316, quoted Mannhardt, op. cit., I, p. 594).

2. For the cult of Nehalennia, see Simrock, op. cit., 2nd edn., pp. 387ff. and Helm, Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte (Heidelberg 1913) I, pp. 386ff.

3. Jungwirth, Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens, Berlin 1927-42, IX, Pt. II, col. 162, under the heading "Schiffsumzug": "Das Hauptverbreitungsgebiet war vor allem Flandern, der vorwiegend germanische Norden Frankreichs und die Rheinlande", and Almgren, op. cit., p. 19: "In ganz Flandern und manchen Gegenden Frankreichs kommen zu Fastnacht auf Räder oder Kufen gesetzte Schiffe vor... Angefüllt mit Musikanten und maskierten Karnevalsfiguren werden sie von Pferden in Prozessionen herumgezogen". Cf. also the passage from Zarncke's Introduction to the Narrenschiff quoted on p. 471.

examples could be multiplied. Quite apart from the ship-cars from Brussels, Antwerp and Malines which formed part of the ad hoc celebrations in honour of some special State or civic occasion, there are numerous instances of ship-processions as recurring annual festivals. Two examples from more recent times will suffice. Gaidoz gives a late eighteenth century account of a procession at Douai which took place each year in June or July and which included une espèce de machine en forme de vaisseau;[1] and the Gentleman's Magazine for the year 1759 publishes a description of the Cormass Procession at Dunkirk on St John's Day, June 24:-

> "... Pole bearers were followed by a large ship, representing a man-of-war placed on a frame with wheels and drawn by horses. The sails were all spread, the colours flying and the guns, which were of brass, fired very briskly as it passed along. Upon the quarter-deck were three men, one representing the admiral, another the captain and another the boatswain, all whistling; on other parts of the vessel there were sailors, some dancing, others heaving the log..." 2

Most important of all, because, like the Cologne pageant of 1235, nearest in time to Moris von Craûn, is the ship of

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1. H. Gaidoz in Revue archéologique, 3rd series, IV, 1884, pp. 33f.; quoted Almgren, op. cit., p. 20.

2. Gentleman's Magazine, (1759) pp. 263ff.

which it could with literal truth be said that it was found near Aachen and that men followed after it - the navis terrea described in the famous passage from the Rodulfi Gesta abbatum Trudonensium.[1] quoted in extenso by Grimm[2] and others. The abbot of St Trond, in what is now Belgium, relates how in the year 1133 a certain peasant from "Indra" (now Cornelimünster, near Aachen) built the ship secretly and compelled the weavers to drag it across country first to Aachen, then to Maastricht, where it was fitted with mast and sail, and so on to Tongern, Loos and other places. The three estates of medieval society regarded this spectacle with very different eyes. The secular authorities, surprisingly enough, permitted or even encouraged it; to the Church, on the other hand, it was an abominable device, a snare of the devil and a thing to be shunned; while the common people for their part hailed it with the wildest excitement, flocked round it in great crowds as it passed along, and when it halted for a few days at any spot, celebrated its arrival with frenzied singing, dancing and revelry, which were kept up for days on end.

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1. Lib. XII, caps. 11-14 (MGH.SS.X, pp. 309ff.).
2. Grimm, op. cit., 2nd edn. I, pp. 237-242.

It is impossible to guess how far the abhorrence of the Church and the eager response of the peasantry and townsfolk were due to the fact that both recognised in the ship-procession a resurgence of the old heathen customs, so long repressed and now suddenly flaring out again with uncontrollable violence, or how far it was simply welcomed (and condemned) as a sensational novelty, an excuse for throwing aside the tasks of daily life and making prolonged holiday. At least it is clear that well into the twelfth century, on the border between France and Germany, the popular memory could be stirred and the popular imagination fired to the heights of enthusiasm by the passage of a ship on wheels. And since it is unlikely that the St Trond ship was a unique phenomenon, though it is the only one of which record has survived, the knowledge of this crowd-attracting quality may well have weighed with the author of Moriz von Craûn (or, if the events related have any historical foundation, with Moriz himself) in deciding what form his tournament machine should take.

Other even more powerful impulses were at work too. We can certainly acquit the poet of any desire to make his hero appear to revive pre-Christian practices, but lodged

somewhere in his mind there must have been some recollection of the twofold appropriateness of the ship on wheels to an enterprise of this nature: in the first place, because of its associations with the festivals of spring and early summer, that is, with the normal season for tournaments; but chiefly because, by reason of the character of these festivals, it had come to be regarded as a symbol of love, in particular of prosperity in love. Immemorial folk-symbolism of this kind remains potent long after it has become unconscious, and it cannot be just a coincidence that so many of the pageant ship-cars enumerated above figured in betrothal or nuptial celebrations, from the marriage of Frederick II in 1235 to that of Louis XIII in 1612. The beautiful ships of romance and folk-poetry are also almost invariably linked in some way with the idea of love, from the fairy vessels that bring Guigemar or Partonopier to their lady-loves, or the beau bastesu in which the fifteenth-century French girl sees her lover come sailing up the Seine, to the ship in which the Sultan's daughter sets sail for England to find Young Beichan, or that in which the demon lover comes to carry off his bride to her doom, or again that in which Sir Patrick Spens sets out to fetch away the king's daughter of Norway.[1]

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1. Both the songs quoted on p.463 are likewise of this type.

In these last examples we catch a glimpse of yet another factor which overlaps with, and reinforces the ancient erotic significance of the ship and provides a further strand in the complex web of association that surrounds the tournament ship in Moriz von Craûn - the world-wide motif of the bridal quest by sea, the theme of pursuit and conquest and abduction which began its existence as a part of life and eventually softened into romantic convention.

On the whole this theme is not a common one in the literature of the chivalric period. It demands a setting very unlike the enchanted landscape of Arthurian adventure, and a climate of thought which is, to say the least, hard to reconcile with at any rate the outward professions of knighthood. It belongs to a simpler and more primitive culture, pre-chivalric or post-chivalric; in the case of Germany, to the world of the heroic epic, the so-called "Spielmannsepos" and the popular ballad.

Even here it is comparatively rare and when episodes of wooing or abduction by sea do occur, there is for the most part no attempt to stress the splendid appearance of the ship; a fact which confirms that the idea of the "bonny ship" is one which in Germany fails to evoke any strong imaginative response. There is, for instance, a striking difference between the bare reference to "forty ships" in the

account of the abduction of Salmê in Salman und Morolf[1] and the richness of the corresponding descriptions in the Slavonic Salomon-Byliny.[2] When Rother sails for Constantinople to woo, and eventually to carry off, the daughter of the Emperor, and again when her father mans a ship to fetch her home, the cargoes of treasures taken on board are enumerated in detail, but the appearance of the ships themselves is passed over completely.[3] Similarly the author of Dietrichs Flucht, describing the equipment of the messengers sent by Dietwart to sue for the hand of Minne, is far more interested in their costly dress than in the fitting out and adorning of the fleet of vessels.[4]

There is only one example that I have been able to discover of a really detailed picture of the bridal ship, and that appears in Kudrun, a very puzzling work which, like

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1. Stanza 44, lf.

2. See below, pp. 506f.

3. König Rother, ed. H. Rückert, in the series Deutsche Dichtungen des Mittelalters (Leipzig 1872), 785ff., 3066ff.

4. Ed. E. Martin (Berlin 1866), 1023ff.

Moriz von Craûn, stands quite alone in MHG. literature, and which, again like Moriz von Craûn, has been preserved only in the Ambraser Heldenbuch.[1] Here the usual convention is reversed. In the episode of the abduction of Hilde by Wate, Fruote and Hôrant the personal equipment of the three warriors is touched on very lightly, while the ships built for the expedition by Hetel are described in the most circumstantial manner. Here too we meet with that blend of technical precision and fantastic splendour which we have remarked in connexion with the ship in Moriz von Craûn. Some of the details even tally exactly in the two accounts - for instance, the silver (or "silver-bright") rivets and nails,[2] the silken anchor-ropes, and the bronze anchors.[3]

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1. The provenance and topography of Kudrun also have certain points in common with our text; for instance, the central episode is located near the mouth of the Scheldt, that is, not far from the Flemish border.

2. Kudrun 249, 4: mit silberwîzen spangen suln sie werden geslagen (Martin's emendation for the MS. reading "von silberwevsse spangen sullen seule werden geslagen", and 264, 4: die wende zuo den stoezen wurden wol mit silber gebunden. Cf. MvC. 662ff.: der meister dar umbe gienc / und sluoc es an die spangen / mit guoten nageln langen: / die wâren alle silberwîz.

3. Kudrun, 266, 1ff.: ir ankerseil wurden da her von Arabê gevüeret harte verre, daz man sît noch ê / deheiniu alsô guoten ninder vinden künde, and again in 1108, 1: ir ankerseil diu wâren von vesten sîden guot. Cf. MvC. 680f.: sîn anker wâren messinc, / der umbe seil von sîden For the parallel between the bronze anchors in both texts, see above, p. 460.

Two small but significant details suggest that the idea of the bridal quest was indeed present in the poet's mind when he made his hero come sailing over land to woo and win the countess by prowess of arms.

The first is the red colour (the only specific colour mentioned in the whole passage) of the cloth fetched expressly from Flanders to drape the hull of the ship.[1] Among colours red has always been notably rich in symbolic meaning, but only two of these aspects concern us here. It is the colour of blood and hence of war,[2] and it is the colour of love.[3]

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1. Ze Vlander er hâte / nâch rôtem scharlâte / einen karrich gesant,/ dâ man die ûzeren want / alsamitîn mite bevlenc (Pretzel: allez samet mite bevlenc), 657ff.

2. In Italy both the carroccio and the oxen drawing the car were covered with hangings of cloth, sometimes white, but more often red ("di rosso o di vermiglio": G. Ferrario, op. cit., II, p.63). Cf. also the description of the Roman carroccio in Athis und Prophilias, Fragment A*, 153ff.: Nach der scare gienc der vane / da sie houbitîn ane,/ so sie rîtîn in den strît;/ daz was ein rotîr samît,/ gezierit nicht zu swache. Herodotus, Bk.III, chaps. 57, 58, tells how the people of Siphnos were warned by an oracle to beware of "a wooden host and a herald in scarlet"; this prophecy was fulfilled, according to Herodotus, by a fleet of Samians who defeated the Siphnians at sea, because "in ancient times all ships were painted red". (τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ἅπασαι αἱ νέες ἦσαν μιλτηλιφέες).

3. In religious art this symbolic use of red is very common indeed. It must also be remembered in this connexion that the Red Ship is a female symbol going back to very early times.

This double association with love and war is doubtless the reason for the very widespread tradition that the ship of the bridal quest must be coloured red. This tradition never seems to have taken firm root in Germany, though it is found in all the surrounding countries. However, occasional traces of it can be discovered in MHG. literature. The rôt alsam ein gluot of the oars in Kudrun 265, 2 is probably no more than a stock phrase referring to the gold with which they are plated, but at least the epithet is explicitly introduced. In Dietrichs Flucht the red is transferred to the dress of the messengers on which, as we have pointed out, the main interest of the author is concentrated.[1] One vestige of this ancient belief lingers on in folk-song. The story on which the epic of Kudrun is based survives in Germany as a popular ballad.[2] Among the many extant versions of this ballad is one in which the ship is transformed into a waggon - and the waggon is to be painted red.[3]

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1. Dietrichs Flucht, 1028ff: dô hiez er manegen phelle rôt/ vil snellecliehen dar tragen .../ als er ez geben wolde / den herzelieben boten sîn.

2. Deutsche Volkslieder mit ihren Melodien, I, 1. "Deutsche Balladen" (ed. J. Meier, Berlin-Leipzig 1935), No. 3. "Brautwerbung-Hildesage".

3. Ibid.
Version 3c, 16f.: "Sho pîs du mir mein Bagale / mit vaiərroatər Khreidə gehean" (Male du mir mein Wägelchen / mit feuerroter Kreide schön). Cf. E. Seemann, Jb. f. Volksliedforschung VII, 1941, pp. 60ff.

This version, which comes from Gottschee, has almost certainly been influenced by Slavonic tradition, for in Russia the red ship is quite a common ballad motif. It occurs in the songs which tell of the abduction of Solomon's wife, a fable of Oriental, possibly Byzantine, origin which appears in MHG. literature as the tale of Salman und Morolf. In these Solomon-Byliny, the ship whose beauty and promise of delight entice Salamanija away from her husband is crimson in colour: un navire de pourpre, sur le navire une cabine vermeille, un lit de bois précieux, avec un édredon de cygne, une taie d'oreiller de soie, des rideaux de damas[1] ... An almost identical image appears in the native legends surrounding the person of Solovej Budimirovitch, a warrior hero, half-merchant, half-pirate. In the Byliny that celebrate his adventures he journeys across the sea, in some versions to seek, in others to rescue, a bride in a crimson ship of the utmost splendour: sur le vaisseau d'un rouge pourpre, les voiles étaient de solide damas, les câbles et les cordes étaient de soie de Chamakhan: les ancres étaient d'acier, d'acier de Sibirie: les mâts et les vergues étaient dorés:

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1. A. Rambaud, La Russie épique (Paris 1876) pp. 394ff. Cf. also R. Trautmann, Die Volksdichtung der Grossrussen (Heidelberg 1935) pp. 246ff.

sur le navire d'un rouge pourpre, il y avait une cabine tapissée de tentures vertes à ramages,[1] and so forth.

Trautmann, in his account of the Budimirovitch-Byliny suggests that this ship, which had a carved dragon-headed prow, owes something to Scandinavian influence in the Baltic. The red ship does in fact seem to have left traces of its passage in Norse traditions, for Saxo Grammaticus in his account of the wooing of Helga by Helgo the Norwegian gives us yet another picture of the bridal ship in which, though the colour of the hull is not specified, the cordage and tackle are once again of crimson.[2]

Similar instances are found also in French folk-tale and folk-song. Sometimes the theme of the bridal quest is present in a slightly modified form, as in the Breton tale of the sea-captain and the princess who are marooned by their comrades and left to die; the captain strikes the ground with a magic wand given him by a dwarf, saying: Je

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1. Rambaud, op. cit., p. 75, and W. Wollner, Volksepik der Grossrussen (Leipzig 1879) pp. 141f. Note in both the extracts quoted above the association of the ship with a cabin or bower containing a sumptuous bed.

2. Saxo Grammaticus, Historia Danica, Lib.VI (ed. Müller-Velschow, (Copenhagen 1839), Vol. I, pp. 290f.): Caeterum navigationem tanto instruxerat luxu, ut excultorum auro velorum apparatu uteretur, quae etiam inauratis malis subnixa purpureis restibus tenebantur.

souhaite qu'un vaisseau tout rouge et monté par des matelots rouges arrive ici pour me transporter en France. His wish is immediately granted, and the red ship brings both him and his bride safely back to Paris.[1]

In the songs, which are mostly of a lyric type and comparatively recent in date, the mood is naturally lighter and more fanciful, but still the ancient image persists, and the element of love is invariably present. There is the elegaic note of

> Je pleure un brick-goelette
> Parti la voile au vent,
> Tout chargé de lingots,
> Doublé de cuivre rouge,
> Gréé d'or et d'argent...[2]

or the charming fantasy of

> Les dames de la Rochelle ont armé un bâtiment,
> Pour aller faire la course dedans les mers du Levant.
> La coque en est en bois rouge travaillé fort proprement,
> La mâture est en ivoire, les poulis en diamant,
> La grand' voile est en dentelle, la misaine en satin blanc,
> Les cordages du navire sont de fil d'or et d'argent,
> L'équipage du navire, c'est tout filles de quinze ans...[3]

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1. P. Sébillot, Contes populaires de la Haute-Bretagne (Paris 1880), I, p. 47.

2. E. Rolland, op. cit., II, p. 40.

3. Doncieux-Tiersot, op. cit., p. 419. The phrase about the coque en bois rouge travaillé fort proprement recurs in an almost identical form in versions from Aunis (Canteloube, op. cit., II, p. 371) and Saintonge (communicated orally by M. Jacques Mariés).

We must therefore assume that the choice of red cloth for the hangings of the ship in Moriz von Craûn is no arbitrary preference, but a deliberate piece of symbolism and as such an essential feature of the whole design. To what stage in the evolution of the text the idea of the red ship belongs, or from what source it was derived, it is impossible to say with any certainty. Slavonic or Scandinavian influence is in the highest degree improbable; it may conceivably have been introduced for the first time by the German poet on the basis of native traditions firmer and more deeply-rooted than one would guess from the vague allusions that have survived in Kudrun and Dietrichs Flucht; nevertheless it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that in this matter, as in so many others, the evidence points to France rather than Germany.

The symbolic purpose of the ship is confirmed by a second unexpectedly revealing detail. When Moriz is steering the ship to its final position under the castle walls, we are told that a fanfare of trumpets and other instruments is sounded on board als er galiotten / fuorte mit sînem here. / und rouben wolte ûfem mere (870ff.).

The meaning of galiotten in this passage has been much debated. It is a word of Romance origin; the French form

galiot denotes in the first instance a sailor (from galie which survives in the English "galley") as for example in Sone de Nansay 6366f.: Li baillieus prist une galve / Qui de galïon fu garnie, 12585ff.: Et puis a Gracïen mandé / Un galiot de grant bonté:/ Par secours li commande et prie,/ Que il aiourne sa galie, and 16588f.: Et la ont trouvé la galve / Et Gracïen le galvot. Soon it acquires the more specialized meaning of sea-pirate or corsair, as in Partonopeus 1745f.: Quant galiot corent par mer / Et tornent cel sens por rober.[1] From French it was taken over into Middle High German as galiot, galîôt or galiotte (this last probably influenced by the Italian form galeotto). As far as I have been able to discover it occurs only once in medieval German literature in the sense of "sailor", namely in the Legend of St Adrian from the Passional, where the devil appears in the form of a shipman to lure a boat to destruction: si dachten, ez were ein galiot / der von dicker ubervart / die stiure wære wol gelart.[2] It is slightly more frequent in

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1. Further instances of the word in both senses are given by Godefroy, Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française, and Tobler-Lommatsch, Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch.

2. Ed. K. Köpke (Leipzig 1852), p. 470, 4.

the sense of "pirate", as in Wigalois 14911ff.: die galiôte man vlühtic sach / ver im vil dicke üf dem mer: / er hât entschumpfiert ir wer,[1] but the word was never a common one in German and in this context its appearance is admittedly somewhat surprising.

It is indeed so unorthodox that Schroeder rejects this interpretation of the word altogether on the grounds that the conception of "musikalische Piraten" smacks of a modern operetta and is from the medieval standpoint an absurdity.[2] In this view he is followed by both Stackmann and R.M. Meyer.[3] To get round the difficulty Schroeder takes galiotten as a misunderstanding on the part of the poet for the quite different word galotten (Welsh minstrels) and proceeds to use this theory as a prop for his argument that our poet knew and was influenced by Gottfried's Tristan, where the rhyme-pair rotten/galotten is found in lines 3675f.[4] But this explanation leaves out of account the quite unambiguous und

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1. Cf. also Barlaam und Josaphat (ed. K. Köpke, Königsberg 1818, col. 256, 28).

2. Introduction to the edition of 1913, pp. 17f.

3. Stackmann, op. cit., pp. 113f. and R.M. Meyer, "Bligger von Steinach", p. 326.

4. Harpfen unde rotten / daz lêrten mich Galotten, from the young Tristan's account of his various musical accomplishments.

rouben wolte dem mere, which indicates that the poet knew quite well what he was doing when he chose the word galiotten, and that he definitely meant to convey the idea of piracy on the high seas.

And is the notion of music in this context actually so incongruous? That Moris' retinue included a company of musicians is in itself no matter for surprise. The impact of pageantry is doubled when it appeals to both ear and eye alike, and music has always been a natural adjunct to visual spectacle, quite apart from its own unique power of focussing and intensifying crowd emotion. The ship on wheels, by its connexion with a way of life in which song has played a part from the earliest times, by its touch of decorative unreality, and by the very nature of its structure, is well suited to serve as a background and platform for musical display, and we find it everywhere associated with some form of vocal or instrumental accompaniment, from the genera diversorum musicorum and the turpia cantica of the St Trond procession to the nymphs and shepherds chantans melodieusement at Rome in 1634, from the whistling of the sailors in the Cormass festival at Dunkirk in the eighteenth century to the sweet singing and playing of the clerics on board the ships that greeted Isabel of England on her arrival at Cologne more than six centuries earlier.

But music was also a regular feature of the tournament cavalcade. Our most detailed information on the subject comes, as we would expect, from Ulrich von Lichtenstein. He differentiates carefully between the ûzreise and the reisenote. The former was sung, either by minstrels or by the tourneying knights themselves, and was distinguished from other types of song current at the time, such as the Minnelied, by its warlike tone and its swinging dactylic or trochaic beat. Ulrich quotes in full two ûzreise of his own composition,[1] which, he says, enjoyed great popularity in their day and which give us a very good idea of the genre. The reisenote on the other hand was an instrumental composition, played presumably by professional musicians either singly or in consort. The predominating instruments seem to have been drums and trumpets,[2] and the music was clearly of a military kind, perhaps a species of cross between the march and the fanfare. Ulrich gives us several

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1. Frd. Lied XVI, 403, 25ff. and Lied XXXVIII, 456, 25ff.

2. These are the instruments played by the minstrels in the simplified representation of a tournament cavalcade in the miniature of Duke Heinrich von Breslau from the Manesse Codex.

accounts of the reisenote, of which the fullest is that in Frd. stanzas 482-486, where trumpets, pipe and tabor, and viols are severally mentioned. We have descriptions of the reisenote from other sources too. When Gahmuret rides into Kanvoleis he is escorted by a group of musicians playing trumpets, drums, flutes and viols.[1] In the Turnei von Nantheiz drums, trumpets (? horns) and fifes are played.[2] In the passage from our text under discussion, the poet is obviously thinking of a reisenote, performed in this instance by a rather more ambitious ensemble consisting of drums, flutes, horns, trumpets, fifes and stringed instruments.[3]

As a prelude to the tourney, therefore, this cavalcade to music has nothing unusual about it. But the allusion to "pirates" still remains somewhat cryptic, and to explain it we must consider rather more closely the significance of the terms reisenote and ûzreise. The fact that both contain the word reise, which in the thirteenth century still retained its primary meaning of "military campaign", suggests

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1. Parzival, II, 126ff.

2. Turnei von Nantheiz, 708ff.

3. It is not known exactly what was meant by a rotte, which may have been a type of harp, or else an archaic kind of fiddle.

that they represent an adaptation to mock warfare of something originally associated with serious fighting.

The reisenote as a preliminary to battle does not appear to have been very common in the Middle Ages, though examples of it are recorded.[1] It may be that the sound of medieval instruments, so appropriate to the decorative setting of the tournament, was not powerful enough even in concert to be effective on the actual field of battle, nor would it kindle emotion to anything like the same extent as the mass singing of the ûzreise in which all could participate. Even Tacitus in chap. 3 of the Germania notes of the Germanic tribes that ituri in proelia canunt, and in MHG, literature there are many references to the wîgliet or wîgleich which preceded any belligerent enterprise. In warfare against the paynim such songs would take the form of a hymn, like the lioth frêne of

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1. Schultz, op. cit., II, p. 282, note 3, quotes an example from Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae (MGH.SS. XXIII, p. 276): et statim percusso tympano leticie cum instrumentis musicis et cantu suo virorum animos exhilarantes... ad paganos accelerant. Another instance, from Lohengrin (ed. H. Rückert, Quedlinburg 1858) 5041ff. concerns music played on the carroccio, which was in itself a visible focus of inspiration, as well as providing a platform from which the musicians could command attention: Man lûte ûf des karrutschen gadem / die glocken; dô huop sich umb und umbe der kradem.../ floitieren und tampdren schal / pusûnen snarren, daz es in der luft erhal.

2. Schultz, loc. cit., pp. 282f.

the ninth-century Ludwigslied,[1] or the Crusading songs of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but the custom also prevailed in private hostilities and in forays for plunder, whether by land or by sea. In the case of sea-fighting, the warrior song of expectation or triumph would naturally tend to merge into the rhythmic shanty-type chant of the sailor, and the song sung by Moriz' men at their oars when the ship first sets out on its voyage may well be an example of this. In the same way we hear in Kudrun 545, 1 that after the fight on the Wülpensande: die jungen helde sungen do sie wolten dan, and again in Kudrun 1117, 4: do si sen schiffen giengen die guoten ritter hôrt' man singen alle. Another passage in Kudrun 695, 1ff., though it refers to land rather than sea-fighting, offers an even more suggestive parallel to Moriz von Craûn because of the stress laid on the idea of booty, roubes:-

> Dô si nu komen wâren vür daz bürge tor,
> vil singender knappen hôrte man dar vor,
> die sich in herten strîten roubes versâhen.

So the music played in Moriz von Craûn has a twofold implication. In one sense, it is simply a tourneying reissnote of the usual kind. On the other hand, these

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1. Braune, Althochdeutsches Lesebuch (10th edn., 1942), No. XXXVI, 46.

martial drums and trumpets proclaim to all and sundry that here is no ordinary vessel manned by peaceful mariners, but a fighting ship with a crew of galiotten, sea-rovers bent on capturing a double prize - victory in thetournament, and the love of the countess. To the poet's contemporaries this conjunction of performance and setting would doubtless convey its message more plainly than to us; yet even we, who have the bare reference to go on and who know virtually nothing of the emotional or symbolic overtones of music at this period, can discern something of the care that brings even such apparently unimportant details into line with the plan of the whole.

It remains, in fine, to show what conclusions can be drawn from all this. In the first place, it is quite evident that the choice of a ship on wheels as the basis of a tournament masquerade was not a casual freak of fancy but sprang from a widely-ramified tradition which, though of great antiquity, was still vigorous and had not yet sunk to the level of mechanical convention.

From the foregoing pages three principal attitudes to the ship on wheels emerge: (i) it could be derived from primitive cult-practices bound up with the cycle of the

seasons - especially the spring and summer months - which linger on in folk-usage with their original meaning more or less obscured and which in time become no more than a stock ingredient in popular revelry at Carnival time; (ii) it could be a piece of pageant machinery in which ritual and symbolism played at most a subordinate part and which relied for its effect on outward magnificence, ingenuity of construction and the charm of novelty; (iii) its ancient ritual associations combined with the glamour of pageantry could create round it an aura of erotic fantasy which first appears in the aristocratic romances of the Middle Ages and subsequently passes into popular romance in the form of the folk-song and folk-ballad.

In the ship in Moriz von Craûn all three approaches are present: the connexion of the wheeled ship with the cult-ritual of spring and summer links it at once with what was the normal time of year for tourneying; it is also intended as a spectacle in its own right to dazzle and astonish the crowd and to advertise the hero's wealth and generosity; in addition it contains a strong suggestion of romantic sentiment, heightened by an intricate pattern of symbolism extending to every detail of the design. In other words, it was chosen partly as being striking and appropriate in itself, partly as the vehicle of a message which was sufficiently

clear to be appreciated straight away in its own day and age, yet not so familiar that it had lost all its power.

In the matter of racial and geographical distribution, however, these three conceptions do not always coincide, and there is a perceptible divergence of usage between France and Germany, the two countries with which we are here concerned. Ritual ship-processions are comparatively rare in France, and when they do survive it is usually in a much altered form and under the direct patronage of the Church; whereas in Germany there are many regions where such ceremonies still persisted in quite an archaic form within the last hundred years, and even today the Carnival ship is no uncommon sight. This survival of the ship on wheels in the homely festivities of the common folk is perhaps the cause of its rarity in more exalted strata of society; apart from the Cologne pageant of 1235 I have not been able to discover a single instance of the ship-car in German state or aristocratic pageantry. Possibly it was for the same reason that in Germany the idea of the splendid barque of love never developed that wealth of romantic suggestion which in France caused it to pass into the permanent repertoire of popular imagery; in MHG. literature the ship-descriptions of Kudrun stand, as far as I know, alone, nor is there any-

thing in German folk-song comparable with the fifteenth-century picture of the beau basteau sur Seine, or "Les dames de la Rochelle" or the ballad of the pirate Forban.

In the border regions between France and Germany these divergences tend to melt into a single common tradition, and this is particularly true towards the north, that is, in the areas round the lower reaches of the Rhine, extending on one side into Brabant, Flanders and so into north-eastern France, on the other into Holland and Low Germany. Here, as we have seen, ship-processions and ship-pageants have always flourished, whether in Germany, as near Aachen in 1133 and at Cologne in 1235, or still more frequently in those French-speaking territories that comprise the modern Belgium. Moreover it is only in the Low Countries, including Low Germany, that we find on Germanic soil that image of the splendid ship which we have shown to be so characteristic for France. An example from Holland is quoted on pp.464f. and in the case of Kudrun itself the form of the heroine's name, quite apart from the North Sea setting of the action, points unmistakably in the same direction. Ship-motifs are on the whole surprisingly rare in German folk-song, but it is significant that in practically every instance where they do occur the song in question also exists in a Dutch or Low

German version, like the ballad Graf und Nonne[1] or the celebrated carol Es kommt ein Schiff geladen,[2] which though traditionally ascribed to the Alsatian mystic Johannes Tauler of Strassburg is now thought to be likewise of Lower Rhenish provenance.

Since both the author of Moriz von Craûn and the author of the lost French conte on which it is based come from their respective sides of this frontier region it is impossible to do more than speculate whether the ship-episode is the invention of the German poet or whether he found it in his source; but on both external and internal grounds we are probably justified in assuming the latter.

There is no need to suppose with Rosenhagen[3] that the incident has any basis in fact, in the sense that the historical

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1. Erk-Boehme, Deutscher Liederhort, No. 89a, where it is stated that Low German versions of the ballad were current already in the fifteenth century. A Dutch version is published by Hoffmannvon Fallersleben, "Niederländische Volkslieder" (Horae Belgicae 2, 2nd edn. Hanover 1856) No. 18.

2. Erk-Boehme, op. cit., No. 1921: "Man hat das Lied Johannes Tauler zugeschrieben, doch mehreres spricht dafür, dass die Originalfassung niederrheinisch war". A Flemish version is published by H. von Fallersleben in "Niederländische Geistliche Lieder des XV. Jahrhunderts" (Horae Belgicae 10, Hanover 1854) No. 26, and a Durch version by F. van Duyse in Het oude Nederlandsche Lied III (Antwerp 1907) No. 484.

3. Rosenhagen, in the article quoted above, p. 806.

Seigneur de Craon actually had a tournament ship-car built in the service of Isabelle de Beaumont. Like the whole mise-en-scène of the story, it belongs to the native background of the poet rather than that of his Angevin hero. In the north-eastern marches of France, where, as far as we can tell, the original conte was composed, the ship on wheels would be a more familiar sight during the tourneying months of spring and summer than in the home of the German poet higher up the Rhine on the borders of Franconian and Alemannic territory. Here too it could acquire that uninhibited opulence which characterized all the pageantry of north-eastern France and Flanders, while still retaining its age-old symbolic meaning; it is, after all, from Flanders that the scarlet cloth is brought which transforms the car into the red ship of the bridal quest.

All this suggests that the ship-episode was not interpolated by the German translator, but existed already in his lost French source. Furthermore, it has in no way the air of an afterthought. Though not strictly speaking indispensable to the course of the action, it is not, as Rosenhagen asserts, simply a handy means of conveying the knight to the scene of the tournament, to be "schleunigst beseitigt" when its purpose has been served. As a piece of highly appropriate symbolism, as an opportunity for the display of

chivalric virtue, even as a counterpart to the luxurious bed of the countess, it is fitted carefully into the framework of the tale and cannot be lifted away without damaging the fabric of the whole.

On the other hand it is very likely that in its original form this episode was relatively compact and straightforward, and that the German poet has, after his usual fashion, added a good deal of amplifying detail. We are probably justified in ascribing to him the reference to Cologne (641) and perhaps the references to the Maas and Rhine as well (688). He is almost certainly responsible for the simile of the lampartischer van (738) which, like the allusion to the ruins of Rome (228f.), may perhaps reflect a first-hand knowledge of Italy, gathered it may be in the course of one of the Imperial campaigns. The lengthy account of the building of the ship appears to be another of his independent contributions to the poem. The vocabulary used is entirely native and contains many technical words, such as getraemet (639), geschraemet (640), beschiezen (642), rame (651), dilp (727), phlihten (968) and possibly grans and zagel (670), which hint at some degree of personal familiarity with the subject. The German poet should also in all likelihood be given the credit for the various expressions of approval

or disapproval which form a kind of running commentary to the narrative, such as the reiteration of the idea of wunder[1] in von wunderlichen sachen (628), durch wunder getân (631), daz was ein wunderlichez ding (679), ditz was ein wunderlich gedanc (720); the admiration for the skill of the master-workman (wisheit 633, kundiger sin 730); the emphasis on the costliness of the project (guot 633, unkünste 653); and the hint of censure implied in the phrase: daz möhte er wol vermiden; / ez was ein üppiger schade (682f.).

Finally there are the stop-gap words, the rhetorical questions, the parentheses and interjections of the type usually grouped together under the general label of "Spielmannsformeln", which serve to sustain the interest of the hearers, to fill out a line or a couplet, or to supply a convenient rhyme. Typical instances are nû saget ich iu, künde ich (625), vernemet (635), künde ich iuz gesagen (637), künde ichz iu rehte gesagen (706), expressions like harte vaste (671), se aller zite (746), and above all gehant (643, 650, 673, 714). Occasionally the result is a happy one - we may guess that the vivid and original image of the bride in 748 was introduced in the first place to provide a rhyme

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1. "Wunder" is one of the German poet's favourite words; cf. also lines 71, 194, 885, 928, 1577, 1588, 1600, etc.

for liute in the preceding line. Elsewhere we gain the impression of an earnest but inexperienced poetic craftsman whose talents are not altogether equal to the task he has taken in hand.

All this inevitably belongs to the realm of guesswork. Nevertheless, even these tentative speculations add their support to the main conclusion that the account of the ship in Moriz von Crafûn represents an expanded version of an episode which already formed part of the lost French original.

Chapter Five

LANGUAGE AND DIALECT

Tiuschiu zunge diu ist arn:
swer dar inne wil tihten,
sal er die rede rihten,
sô muoz er wort spalten
und zwei zesamene valten.
das taete ich gerne, kunde ich daz,
meisterlicher unde baz.

Our only knowledge of Moriz von Craûn is derived from a single not very accurate copy made nearly three hundred years later in a completely different part of the German-speaking area. Had the work been written in prose, the task of textual reconstruction would have proved well-nigh impossible, though here and there some error on the part of the scribe might have given us a clue to the spelling of his immediate source. As it is, we have one limited but reliable means of penetrating behind the early sixteenth-

century Bavarian of the MS. to the language of the original text - namely, the rhymes.[1]

The poet is admittedly no outstanding practitioner of his craft. He himself concedes as much in his closing lines, quoted at the head of this chapter, where he complains how hard it is to write verse correctly and wishes that he were more skilful in the art of handling words. He appears to have a certain predilection for open, i.e. vocalic, rhymes (for example, dâ/swâ 261f.; mâ/wâ 545f.; bî/sî 307f.; dô/frô 815f., 913f.; wie/ie 455f.; knie/ie 831f.; sie/hie 921f.; iu/driu 1325f.; zuo/fruo 1503f.); and his work contains a strikingly high proportion of feminine rhymes (about forty per cent of the total),[2] including three-syllabled forms like lebene/vergebene (129f., 1721f.) and fremede/gemede (1175f.). For the rest his metrical technique, though competent, lacks any distinctive qualities. In the same way his repertoire of rhymes is largely conventional, though

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1. The question of the rhymes in Moriz von Craûn has been treated in an exhaustive but somewhat pedestrian manner by K. Galabov, Reimtechnik in 'Moriz von Craûn' (Annuaire de l'université de Sofia, Fac. hist.-phil., XXII, 1926; Bulgarian text provided with an abstract in German).

2. Schroeder uses this fact as evidence for dating the poem (edition of 1913, Introduction, p. 9.).

every now and then he introduces a rather more unusual word-pair, such as zins/flins (509f.), getraemet/geschraemet (639f.), wazzer/mazzer (791f.), fiuwer/schiuwer (805f.), stimme/brimme (1683f.), or experiments in a very modest fashion with such tricks of style as grammatical rhyme (e.g. hân/hân 431f.; sîn/sîn 1489f.) and variation (e.g. sin/gewin/gewinne/minne 391ff.; gie/lie/liez/hiez 1435ff.; tac/mac/tûge/mûge 405ff.).

Nevertheless he brings to his versifying the same conscientiousness that he displays in matters of morality, and he has clearly taken great pains to make his rhymes conform to the accepted rules of Middle High German prosody. We can therefore start from the assumption that any examples of regional forms occurring in rhyming position are not the result of carelessness, but do genuinely reflect the speech-habits of the author and are thus a most valuable aid in establishing the provenance of the poem.

In the Middle Ages, as today, adjacent dialect areas were not demarcated by clear-cut boundaries; they shaded off into each other by imperceptible stages of transition. When we attempt, for purposes of contrast, to define regional idioms within the general framework of Middle High German - those that concern us here are the Franconian branch of Middle German and the Alemannic branch of Upper German - we are dealing with a general tendency to diverge in respect

of pronunciation and spelling rather than with any hard and fast distinction. The difference between them is built up of a mass of complex and shifting details, each of which, viewed in isolation, carries little weight; only their collective evidence is strong enough to serve as a basis for definite conclusions.

A case in point is the question of the retaining of unstressed e after liquids or nasals. Scattered throughout the text, but especially frequent in the first few hundred lines, are various instances of this e preserved in rhyming position, e.g. here/were (29f.), beware/widervare (325f.), gewenet/senet (477f.), were/mere (629f.), rame/alsame (651f.), zile/vile (757f.), tûre/fûre (853f.), kome/frome (1233f.). Such rhymes cannot have been introduced by the scribe, for in his native Bavarian dialect the sound had long since disappeared, and he betrays his unfamiliarity with it by more than one inconsistency of notation; sometimes he omits the e, as in an/fan (737f.), widerfarn (400), geporn (427), elsewhere he inserts it wrongly, as in jare (32) for jâr, and sagete/tagete (1601f.) for saget/taget.[1]

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1. The position is further complicated by the lack of agreement between the different editors of the text. Both Schroeder and Pretzel alter the MS. readings tillen/gylen (727f.) and daruore/empore (799f.) to the contracted forms diln/siln and dâ vor/enbor. But in 737f. Schroeder follows

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We must accordingly assume that rhymes like here/were go back to the original text of the poem. But their usefulness as a linguistic criterion is very limited, for though the retention of unstressed e was normally characteristic of Middle German, it was also quite common in Low or Rhenish Alemannic,[1] and we are not entitled on these grounds alone to assign the work to any particular part of the total area involved.

The same thing applies in the matter of secondary mutation. Certain features of the text are unmistakably Middle German, such as the rhyming of old e with the mutated æ in ehte/rehte (963f., 1219f.), or the presence of mutation in the Preterite Subjunctive of machen, confirmed by the rhyme rehte/mehte (MS. rechte/mæchte) in 1743f.[2] However, beside these Middle German forms there are other examples of secondary mutation which could equally well be Alemannic, such as

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the MS. and keeps an/van while Pretzel emends to ane/vane; in 757f., Schroeder again follows the MS. and keeps zile/vile while Pretzel emends to zil/vil; on the other hand in 24 Pretzel follows the MS. and keeps werten while Schroeder emends to wereten.

1. See Michels, Mittelhochdeutsches Elementarbuch (3rd edn., Heidelberg 1921), §59, note 1.

2. The rhyme rehte/mehte suggests that Schroeder is correct in emending the corrupt MS. reading geworchte/geslachte in 1137f. to gemahte/geslehte; Pretzel prefers the emendation volbrâhte/geslahte.

kelte/entwelte (1069f.) substituted by both Schroeder and Pretzel for the MS. reading kalte/entwalte, or the Neuter Plural elliu (118, 464, 719, 1484, 1632) substituted by Pretzel for the form alle which is used consistently by the scribe.[1]

Yet although neither of these features affords any conclusive evidence as to the home of the poem, there are other aspects of the rhymes which point rather more unequivocally in one specific direction.

For instance, it is clear that the original text contracted ege to ei (rhyming with itself in treit/geleit 1117f. and with historical ei in geleit/breit 781f. and kleit/geleit 1689f.), but retained age uncontracted (probably in maget/gesaget 1363f. and certainly in saget/taget 1601f.). This was a peculiarly Middle German characteristic, the Alemannic poets contracting all three forms alike.[2] No less indisputably Middle German is the type sal/salt for the standard sol/solt, guaranteed by such rhymes as gewalt/

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1. Schroeder emends to alliu throughout.

2. See J. Zwierzina, "Mittelhochdeutsche Studien" (ZfdA., 44, 1900), pp. 348f. Michels, op. cit., §170, H. Paul - L.E. Schmitt, Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik (15th. edn., Halle 1950) §86.

salt (1299f.), misseval/sal (1317f.), nahtigal/sal (1713f.).[1] A further Middle German trait of a slightly more controversial nature is the tendency, attested by the rhyme-forms, for ouw, ûw and iuw to fall together in the single sound-group ouw. A rhyme such as verhouwen/frouwen (1559f.) is quite regular, since in both words the ouw is historically correct; but rhymes such as genouwen/getrouwen (1235f.), or getrouwen/gerouwen (1411f.) would be impossible except on Middle German territory, since two of these verbs (niuwen, riuwen) would normally have iuw in the Past Participle, while the remaining one (trûwen) would have ûw. In one passage the interpretation of the text depends on the acceptance or rejection of these dialect forms; Moriz' protest to the countess: deist ein schâch / den ich vil dicke schouwe,/ mînes heiles frouwe (564ff.) gives a much better sense if schouwe is taken as a regional form for schiuwe rather than being derived from the verb schouwen (= NHG schauen). The genuineness of these ouw forms appears to be vouched for by the MS. spellings genaȣwen, geraȣwen, getraȣwen or getrawen.

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1. The scribe has only retained the original spellings in rhyming position; both Schroeder and Pretzel restore them wherever they occur in the body of the text, as in 428, 555, 1780. But the rhyme-pair sol/wol (1671f.) suggests that the poet was also familiar with the more normal conjugation of this verb.

and similar instances could be cited from many other Middle German monuments such as the Eneide.[1]

One or two morphological details, such as the weak declension of mûre in 25, 861 and 1702, and of wîzenden in 59 beside the strong form wîzant in 1621, also suggest, though they do not prove, Middle German influence, and the form masser (rhyming with wazzer in 791f.) argues the same conclusion.[2]

The orthography of the MS. reveals another group of Middle German traits, entirely consistent with those just mentioned, which, as they do not occur in rhyming position, cannot be assigned with certainty to the original poem, but which must at least have figured in the immediate source from which our text was copied. There are, for example, the broken forms scheremære (450) and schef (627, 632, 636,

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1. In the same way Pretzel proposes rouwen/trouwen in 1515f., where Schroeder following the lead of the MS. reading rewen/trewen, has riuwen/triuwen (1517f.). When dealing with the group ôuw Pretzel is less consistent; sometimes he retains the mutation (e.g. gestrôuwet 1177) and sometimes discards it (e.g. drouwen/vrouwen 459f.), whereas Schroeder invariably prefers the mutated form (gestreuwet, dreuwen, erfreuwen).

2. Though all these forms are confirmed by the MS. and retained by Schroeder, Pretzel eliminates each of them even at the cost of drastic emendation. For the rhyme-pair wazzer/mazzer, see the review by H. Menhardt of Pretzel's edition of the text in PBB. 78A, 1956, pp. 474f., where a reference is given to the Rheinisches Wörterbuch V, 1941, 933.

640, 651, etc.).[1] There are also several scribal errors only explicable on the grounds that the copyist had before him the Middle German ir and in for standard MHG. er and en, or the Middle German i for e in final inflexional syllables. Thus he writes irr gee for ergê (337), ir frewen for erfreuwen (460), hiewn ist for hie enist (688), in wist for enwiste (1589). In 1237 he has misread intwenken as nitwencken; in 1299 he has misread in min as minin, which he has then modernized to meinem. Again, four times (2, 33, 1042, 1365) he has substituted auch for the Dative pronoun of the second person plural iu; this must mean that in his source iu appeared as ouch or possibly ûch, a form characteristic of Middle German both in the quality of the vowel (ou, û, for iu) and in the confusion between the Accusative and Dative inflexions.[2]

Nevertheless, side by side with these more northerly features, there are others markedly Upper German in character. The spelling trucken for trocken in 684, though Upper German in origin, occurs sporadically in Franconian monuments from the Old High German period onwards and proves nothing either way.[3] But the form gâ, confirmed three times by the rhyme

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1. The scribe substitutes the standard schif in 648, 669, 675, etc.
2. See Michels, op. cit., §225, note 3, and Paul-Schmitt, op. cit., §146, note 5.
3. See T. Frings, PBB, 59, 1935, pp. 455ff.

dâ in 649f., 1567f., 1700f. is definitely Alemannic, in contradistinction to the Middle German (and Bavarian) sân, cognate with English soon.[1] By far the most striking Alemannic element in the text is the modification of final m to n in such rhyme-pairs as began/bequan (7f.), quan/man (135f., 179f., 279f.), quan/schifman (741f.), schifman/quan (919f.), nieman/quan (795f.), began/bequan (in the MS. 903f., in Schroeder's edition 899f.), man/vernan (1259f.), varn/arn (231f., 573f., 615f., 1777f.), ruon/vertuon (721f.), Craôn/rûn (825f.), and perhaps man/kan (1499f.), where it is impossible to tell from the context whether kan is the Preterite tense of kunnen or komen. The orthography of the MS. is not entirely consistent. In the irregular rhymes the scribe retains the dialect -n everywhere except in kom/man (179f.), farn/Arm (231f.), rûm/tûn (721f.), and man/vernan (1259f.). He also normalises the forms in regular rhymes such as kam/nam (1005f.), kam/vernam (1515f.). Similarly he writes Craôn/raôn in 825f. but kaôm/raôm in 897f. Within the lines he writes nam (976, 979, 981, etc.), and kam (238, 983, 1255 1418, 1474, etc.), kom (970) or kum (1414),[2] but never uses the n-spelling.[3]

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1. See Michels, op. cit., §224, 2.
2. Schroeder and Pretzel also keep the normalised spelling within the lines.
3. Some further linguistic minutiae arising out of the rhymes in our text are discussed by J. Zwierzina in his second

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Thus the evidence of the rhymes, blurred and incomplete as it is, suggests that the poem was composed in some part of the frontier region between Upper and Middle German. And though we can rarely be certain about the precise localisation of any given dialect variant in Middle High German, there is only one area where all the phenomena mentioned above could appear in close proximity to each other, and that is the common meeting-ground between Low or Rhenish Alemannic and Rhenish Franconian.

A similar diversity marks the poet's choice of words. In more than one respect his vocabulary departs from the usual conventions of chivalric literature. For instance he has not scrupled to employ expressions which were normally frowned on by courtly writers. We have already had occasion to comment on his use of words from the old warlike diction of the heroic epic, such as wîgant or baldes ellen; but he also introduces genuinely "popular" words, such as drâte (151, 822, 1527, 1623), a favourite adverb in the Spielmannsepos, or genouwen (1235), a colloquialism drawn

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(F/note 3 cont.prev.page)

article on "Mittelhochdeutsche Studien" (ZfdA. 45, 1901, pp. 22f., 40, 43f., 61, 67f., 73, 78, 81, 94f.) but they are not discussed here as they add nothing to the main argument.

from peasant life,[1] and gellen (243), a term of even more decidedly inelegant connotation.[2] Moreover he is - considering the nature and provenance of his theme - surprisingly sparing in his use of words of Romance origin; those that do occur are, with the exception of turnieren (275, 279), all substantives, and with the possible exception of garzûn (622, 1041), and prîs (19, 282, 286, 1018), all technical terms of knightly culture for which there was no convenient native equivalent, such as turnei (598, 623, 929, 978), juste (1013), puneiz (898), baniere (714), govertiure (702), lendenier (838), wambes (1069, 1557), golter (782, 1135), samît (945), zendâl (784, 961), tabûre (862), floite (863), bustûne (867).

But the most interesting and revealing group of words are those of a regional character, and here too we find an identical combination of Franconian and Alemannic elements.

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1. It is most commonly found in works of the fabliau type (e.g. Von dem übelen wîbe, ed. E. Schroeder, Leipzig 1913, 334, 336, 340, etc.), or the coarser Dietrich epics (e.g. Der grosse Wolfdietrich, ed. A. Holtzmann, Heidelberg 1865, 860, 3f.: sie begunde in blûwen /al umbe sînen kopf und ouch sêre nûwen, and similarly in 1297, 3f.

2. It carried overtones either of contempt, as in Herbort von Fritzlar's Liet von Troye 16359, where the women of Troy are being divided as spoils among the victorious Greeks, or of satirical humour, as in Heinrich der Glîchezaere's Reinhart Fuchs (ed. G. Baesecke, Altdt. Textbibliothek, Halle 1925) 57f., where the hen Pinte vlôch bî eine swellen/ mit andern iren gellen.

For example, krete (162), confirmed by the rhyme bete, is a specifically Middle German variant, which stands in the same Ablaut relationship to the Upper German krete as the German Brett to the English board. Though occasionally attested in Lower Rhenish sources, it is defined in Grimm's Deutsches Wörterbuch as being besonders mittelrheinisch.[1] Other forms confined to Middle German are zendât (961),[2] used in rhyming position side by side with the standard word zendâl (784), and pflihte (968), a technical term of ship-building with cognates in Low German, Dutch and Old English. A link between Franconian and Alemannic is provided by karrich (659), which both the Deutsches Wörterbuch and Lexer's Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch describe as indigenous to the Middle and Upper Rhineland. Two further provincialisms point more decisively to Rhenish Alemannic territory, though neither is unknown in the southern areas of Franconian. Schiuwer (806) extended sporadically into the Middle Germany even during the Old High German period,[3]

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1. Various references from Middle German writings are listed by A. Schirokauer, "Studien zur mhd. Reimgrammatik" (PBB, 47, 1923, p. 61).

2. See Schroeder, ZfdA. 38, 1894, p. 101. The form cyndât occurs in the so-called Strassburger Alexander, a text of Rhenish Franconian provenance (ed. K. Kinzel, Halle 1884), 6530.

3. K. v. Bahder, Zur Wortwahl in der frühneuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache (Heidelberg 1925) p. 11, states "andererseits ist schauer dem Mitteldeutschen keineswegs fremd".

(cont./overleaf)

but it is in the first instance Alemannic, and Scheuer is still the most widespread form in the south-west of Germany beside Scheune in the north and Stadel in the south and south-east. Similarly bühel (855), now widely current in the south and south-east,[1] was during the Middle Ages most common in the south-west, whence like schiuwer it spread northwards, scattered examples of it occurring in Franconian sources from Old High German onwards.[2]

The geographical distribution of isolated words in the text is a much less satisfactory starting-point for deductions than the grammatical or phonological data supplied by the rhymes, but its corroborative testimony cannot be disregarded. Arguing from both types of evidence, and especially perhaps from doublet forms like gendâl/gendât, wigant/wiganden, sol/sal, we can therefore confidently assign Moriz von Craûn

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(F/note 3 cont.prev.page)
It is found four times in the Old High German Tatian (ed. E. Sievers, Paderborn 1892): 13, 24; 72, 6; 38, 2; 105, 2, and once in Otfrids Evangelienbuch (ed. O. Erdmann, Halle 1882): II, 14, 108. Both of these texts are Franconian in provenance.

1. See W. Mitzka, Deutscher Wortatlas IV (Giessen 1955), under "Hügel".

2. K.V. Bahder, op. cit., p. 28: "ursprünglich ist (bühel) aber dem Mitteldeutschen keineswegs unbekannt". It occurs in Otfrids Evangelienbuch, IV, 14, 108, and in the East Franconian paraphrase of the Song of Songs by Williram, Cap. 2, 8.

to the northernmost area of Alemannic, say, North Alsace, or the southernmost area of Franconian, say, the Rhenish Palatinate, with the balance tipped if anything slightly in favour of the latter.

On this point the critics of the text are in general agreement. Haupt, one of the earliest, defines it as "alemannisch",[1] R. M. Meyer as "rheinfränkisch",[2] Schwietering as "südrheinfränkisch",[3] de Boor as "rheinpfälzisch",[4] Halbach as "in der Pfalz",[5] Ehrismann specifies: "nördliches Elsass oder rechts- bzw. linksrheinische Pfalz";[6] Bech maintains: "die angegebenen, dem Mitteldeutschen verwandten Sprachformen, sowie die vertraute Bekanntschaft mit Heinrich von Veldeke, lassen vermuten, dass der Dichter am Rhein und zwar in der Nähe des mitteldeutschen Sprachgebietes seine Heimat hatte";[7] Schroeder sums the matter up thus: "zwischen

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1. In the Introduction to his edition of the poem in the Festgaben für Gustav Homeyer (Berlin 1871).

2. In the ZfdA., 39, 1895, p. 318.

3. In "Die deutsche Dichtung des Mittelalters", p. 147.

4. Op. cit., p. 145.

5. In the section "Epik des Mittelalters" from Stammler's Deutsche Philologie im Aufriss II (Berlin 1954), col. 646.

6. Op. cit., II, 2, 1, p. 127.

7. Germania 17, p. 175.

Strassburg und Worms, diesseits oder jenseits des Rheins, wird man die Heimat des Dichters zu suchen haben".[1]

This location fits in admirably with everything else that we have been able to discover about the author of the poem; his familiarity with Rhenish places and customs; his access to French chivalric traditions; his intimate knowledge, hinting at first-hand experience, of French chivalric life and above all of the spectacular tournaments that flourished just across the border from his own native region; his close dependence on literary genres that were cultivated mainly in the north-east of France, like the courtly conte and the roman d'aventure; even his use of popular motifs that still survive in folk-song and folk-lore along the eastern marches of France.

But the consistency of the picture also leads us to conclude that the textual transmission of the poem has undergone very little disturbance between the archetype and the source from which our extant MS. was copied. It is commonly supposed that the contents of the Ambraser Heldenbuch were for the most part derived from a single collection of works,

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1. Introduction to the 1913 edition, p. 7.

the so-called "Heldenbuch an der Etsch".[1] However, the peculiar combination of linguistic features which we have shown to be characteristic of Moriz von Craûn does not occur elsewhere in the Ambraser codex,[2] and most critics assume that it was copied from a separate MS., comparatively early in date[3] and very close to the dialect of the original.[4] If this assumption is correct, it offers yet further confirmation of the fact that Moriz von Craûn, for all its charm and moral fervour, made little impact on the wider public of its day and that, even in the province where it was written, it enjoyed no more than a brief popularity.

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1. See O. Zingerle, "Das Heldenbuch an der Etsch" (ZfdA. 27, 1883, pp. 136ff.). More recently the whole question has been re-opened by A. Leitzmann in his article "Die Ambraser Brecûberlieferung" (PBB. 59, 1935, pp. 143ff., especially pp. 149ff.).

2. Schroeder, Introduction to the 1913 edition, p.5. See also F.G. Kummer, "Strickers Frauenlob" (ZfdA. 25, 1881, pp. 290ff.) and H. Schmidt, "Nibelungenhandschrift O" (ZfdA. 54, 1913, pp. 88ff.).

3. Schroeder, loc. cit., pp. 6f. points out various details which show that the source from which our text was copied could not have been later than the thirteenth century. Thus the scribe's misreading of ze Vlander (657) as Heulannder is incomprehensible unless the source retained both the early h-like form of z, and the no less archaic habit of attaching the preposition proclitically to the noun; this latter usage also explains why the scribe twice writes mir for in ir (225, 1170); and the fact that he writes serieten (623) for schriten proves that in his source initial sc had not yet become sch.

4. Schroeder, loc. cit. p.7.

Chapter Six

CONCLUSION

... Most curious of all, for the student of social forces in literature, are the many works in which a dual aspiration can be traced. Thus the Pilgrimage of Charlemagne, an epic as early as the Roland and full of burlesque elements; thus the Janus-like Romance of the Rose; thus Le Petit Jehan de Saintré, a manual of knightly demeanour which turns into a broad fabliau ...[1]

To this list of Janus-like works might well be added Moriz von Craûn, whose ambiguity differs from theirs only in so far as it presents to the spectator not two aspects but four.

First of all, there is the lost French source of the poem. Much inevitably must remain surmise, yet up to a point it is possible to reconstruct its essential outlines

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1. A. L. Guérard, French civilisation: from its origins to the close of the Middle Ages (London 1920), p. 275.

by inferences drawn from the two extant versions that flank it, as it were, on both sides at opposite extremes - the German redaction and the French fabliau.

When we try to bring it into focus with Le chevalier qui recovra l'amor de sa dame certain dissimilarities at once become apparent. The fabliau offers yet another instance of the conventional triangle of unfaithful wife, hoodwinked husband and wily resourceful gallant, distinguished from countless other medieval variations on this well-worn theme only by its aristocratic milieu and its reliance for effect on a spice of wit rather than simple bawdiness. The three-cornered nature of the intrigue is emphasised by the way in which the husband is worsted twice over - and each time in the presence of his wife - by the lover, his initial overthrow on the tilting-field anticipating with light-hearted symbolism his discomfiture in the bedchamber. It also, at least ostensibly, acknowledges the ascendency of the lady in matters of the heart, since the blame for the temporary estrangement between the lovers is placed unequivocally on the shoulders of the man, and since a reconciliation between them only becomes possible when he shows a proper degree of penitence and submission. But this notion is not taken sufficiently seriously to be dignified

by the name of an "idea", still less that of a "message". The author is quite untroubled by moral issues; for him courtly love is a comedy *à trois*, and honour, in so far as he takes cognizance of it, merely an affair of practical expediency. His sole aim is to present a neatly-turned and diverting anecdote in an easy, lively, unpretentious manner.

We may guess that the lost French source of *Moriz von Craûn* differed from the *fabliau* on all three counts. In the first place, the interest seems to have been concentrated exclusively on the clash between the lovers, the rôle of the husband being altogether subordinate. If the German text is a true guide on this point, as appears likely, the two rivals for the lady's favour were never made to meet at all in the tournament, and even in the bedroom scene the count was little more than a necessary pawn in the action. The remaining member of the quartet of dramatis personae, the waiting-woman, must also have been very lightly sketched in along typical rather than individual lines.[1] In the second place the source must have reversed the share of

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1. We have already seen (in the closing section of Chapter II) that the German poet was in all likelihood responsible for the sympathetic development of her character.

opprobrium meted out to each of the two protagonists. It was the lady who, by her pride, her harshness and her abuse of her suzerainty over the knight, was exposed to humiliation and loss, while he - at any rate in the eyes of the world - emerged with honour untarnished. In the third place it must have differed from the fabliau by virtue of its greater psychological depth and finesse, qualities which presuppose in the writer a serious concern for the principles of chivalric excellence, and especially for that of courtly love, which was conceived of not as a conventional pose or a one-sided servitude, but as a voluntary bond between two equal partners. The result must have been a miniature drama of human passion which in spite of the piquancy inherent in the triangle situation was on the whole nearer to tragedy than comedy. It is also likely that the writer already took into account those broader social implications which are so strongly marked in Moriz von Craûn; that is, the actors in the drama did not, as in the fabliau, play out their parts on a little private stage of their own, but were approved or censured in proportion as they conformed to certain external patterns of conduct or misconduct.

The exact relationship of these two very divergent treatments of a single theme is quite impossible to determine.

It is most unlikely that there is any direct connexion between them in the sense that either one of them is immediately derived from the other. We must assume that the tale was one of the many in common circulation at the time - though how and when it became current we have no means of knowing - and that it was taken up independently by two very different men, each of whom gave it his own distinctive bias: the one joyously unproblematic and unedifying, the other more elevated, more subtle and in the true sense of the word more sentimental.

Even when we try to establish the relative chronology of the two versions we are on very uncertain ground. The fabliau may represent an earlier cruder form of the story with the characters still anonymous types rather than named individuals, and with the latent potentialities of the material still unexplored. In which case the source of Moriz von Craûn would represent an expansion and refinement of this more primitive type. Alternatively the fabliau may offer a simplified and coarsened version of the theme, stripped both of its deeper meaning and of its association with historical personages, and reduced to the level of a casual anonymous anecdote. This latter theory may perhaps be rather nearer the truth than the other. The fabliau,

in so far as it is possible to date it, appears to belong rather later in the thirteenth century than would be possible for the source of our poem. And in addition it does occasionally give the impression of having been clipped down from a more elaborate tradition; the narrative is here and there rather awkwardly compressed and the motivation is not always clear.

When we try to place the source of Moriz von Craûn in its wider context of medieval French literature we are still compelled to work in terms of speculation rather than proof. None the less, it is possible to venture a little way along the perilous road of conjecture.

The poem may perhaps have belonged to that rather indeterminate group of contes or aristocratic fabliaux like Les Trois Chevaliers et la Chainse or Guillaume au Faucon or Le Vair Palefroi; more probably it was cast in the form of the roman de moeurs or roman d'aventure like Le Châtelain de Coucy or Guillaume de Dôle, only on a rather smaller scale than the average representative of this genre. It must at any rate have possessed several of the most characteristic features of the roman de moeurs: the background of contemporary social life, the realism of subject-matter and treatment, the trick of using historical personages to animate a fictitious narrative, the enthusiasm for tournaments, the provenance from

the eastern or north-eastern borders of France, the limited appeal to the public of the time and hence the precarious MS. transmission.

Whether it made any perceptible impact on the literature of its day we cannot tell; no direct reference to it has so far been traced in any contemporary document. The mysterious hints about "the Lady of Beaumont" in Flamenca may possibly contain an obscure allusion to the heroine of our poem. But one work does exist which shows such numerous and striking parallels to Moriz von Craûn as to make the theory of some kind of connexion between the two appear not unreasonable.

It has already been pointed out[1] that three times in Antoine de la Sale's Le Petit Jehan de Saintré the names of Craon and Beaumont are introduced in close conjunction with each other. There is another still more significant link. Whether "La Dame des Belles Cousines" is in fact Marie de Clèves or no may be open to dispute, but there is no doubt whatever about the identity of la Sale's hero, and in one of the earliest studies of the text we learn something of him: "Jean de Saintré .. Chevalier, Sénéschal d'Anjou et

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1. See above, p. 96.

du Maine, joignit à l'autorité de cette charge celle de Lieutenant du Sire de Craon, l'an 1355, et commandoit 30 hommes d'armes sous lui; en cette même année le même Sire de Craon, Pierre de Craon Sire de la Suze, Guillaume de Craon Vicomte de Chateaudun, et lui (c'est-à-dire Saintré) firent une entreprise".[1] (follows an account of a common expedition against a certain Olivier de Clisson who was prominent among the Breton rebels). Again in the same study we hear of "une quittance dattée de 1355 de Jean de Saintré, Sénéschal d'Anjou et du Maine, de 450 livres sur ses gages et de 30 hommes d'armes de sa Compaignie sous Amaury Sire de Craon, Lieutenant du Roy és parties d'Anjou et du Maine".[2]

This connexion between the two works in the matter of their titular heroes is reinforced by an impressive similarity between their respective themes. In each case the knight places himself unconditionally at the service of the lady in hopes of reward, for celui qui sert et ne persert son lover pert; in each case the lady, after a certain amount of rather heartless teasing and coquetry, commissions the knight to undertake tournaments in her honour, promising him her favours

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1. T. S. Gueulette, Le Petit Jehan de Saintré (Paris 1724), Préface, p. Eiij.

2. Ibid.
Five pages further on in the Préface (the pages are not systematically numbered).

in return and sealing the bargain with a ring and a kiss; in each case the knight distinguishes himself victoriously in the joust and is fêted and admired on all sides, while the lady basks in his renown; in each case the knight is guilty of a small fault which springs indirectly from his pursuit of honour; in each case the lady, presuming too much on her power over her lover, retaliates with a much graver fault, involving open disloyalty, and in each case her démesure overreaches itself and leads to her downfall; for in each case she is repudiated by the hero - "adieu, la plus faulce dame qui onques fut!" - and put to shame, while the knight advances to further honours.

No less remarkable is the likeness in structure and mood between Le Petit Jehan de Saintré, "ce Télémaque qui se termine en fabliau" as one critic has called it, and Moriz von Craûn, even making due allowance for the extent to which these aspects of the text may have been transformed by the German poet. Both begin in a leisurely diffuse manner, with the emphasis on description, dialogue and abstract reflection or moralizing; in both the pace quickens steadily as the action moves towards the climax, and both conclude with scenes of tragi-comedy as spirited and dramatic as though they had been written with an eye to stage presentation. Both works, again, seem to be oddly poised between

two opposing worlds of thought, and in consequence both have about them the same ambiguous quality, half dedicated zeal, half ironic detachment, as though the writer was not quite sure where he stood or what he was aiming at. Each, in a word, has the fascination on the enigmatic and in each the enigma posed is fundamentally the same.

This sense of kinship between the two works, despite the difference in date, is too strong to be ignored. Proof is naturally out of the question, but it is tempting to speculate whether Antoine de la Sale did not know, and make use of, the lost source of Moriz von Craûn when composing his masterpiece.

When we come to attempt a definition of the relationship between the French poem on which Moriz von Craûn was based and the German text itself we have in the main only to summarize arguments already set forth and conclusions already drawn in the earlier chapters of this study. We can assume that the source must have contained the gist of the plot as presented in the German redaction from the first interview of the lovers to the final regrets of the lady, and that it certainly, for reasons which still remain obscure, identified the two leading figures with historical personages of the same, or the immediately preceding, generation.

We can also assume that Moriz von Craûn owes to its French source those numerous vivid touches of description that constitute one of the main charms of the work. Many of them have already been mentioned: topoi so essentially French that they have passed into the heritage of French popular tradition and folk-song, like the splendid ship of the bridal quest, the girl rising early in the morning, the garden of love; other motifs, slighter but equally characteristic, like the countess at her window leaning her cheek on her hand "as women crossed in love are wont to do", the tears of the waiting-woman splashing down on to the sleeves of her gown, the blossoming eglantine, the bezant against which the hero weighs his love-longing. The list could be prolonged almost indefinitely: the lamp burning in the bedchamber,[1] the painted bower,[2] the flowers and herbs strewn on the floor,[3] even the way in which Moriz opens the door: An die tür er sêre drukte / uf hôher er sie rukte, / und

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1. Cf. Le Chevalier qui recovre l'amor de sa dame 190f.: Une lampe avoit en la chambre / Par costume ardoir i siaut.

2. Cf. Guigemar 223: La chambre ert peinte tut en tur; Le Châtelain de Coucy 433: En la salle qui fu bien peinte, Galeran de Bretagne 7135, Le Tournoi de Chauvency 4467f., etc.

3. Cf. Horn C 2710f.: Le pavement de suz bien est ionchie a flur; Guillaume le Maréchal 5961f.: En sun pavillon sist un jor / Qui esteit d'erbes e de flors / Junchie(z) de diverses colors; Flamenca 844f., 3840, etc.

gienc vaste drâte / in die kemenâte (1525ff.).[1] It would be idle to pretend that these graphic impressions of *choses vues* are never found in Germany. Yet if we want to see them used with most freedom, most sureness of touch and most telling effect, it is to the French rather than the German romances that we must go. Trifling as they may be, they are like those tiny expressive strokes of the artist's pencil which, taken singly, seem so commonplace, but which collectively create a style that is unmistakable.

Along with this faithful observation of daily life goes a realism of action and situation: the conduct of the hero at the tournament, accurately recorded down to the very order in which he dons the several pieces of his armour; the angry countess turning over in bed and pretending to be asleep as the waiting-woman pleads with her for the knight: the horror of the count at the sight of his supposedly supernatural visitant; the waiting-woman trying to steal away unnoticed out of pity for her mistress whose lamentations she has by chance overheard; all these and many other similarly truthful

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1. Cf. *Guillaume au faucon* 169: *Il boute l'uis en la chambre entre*, and the many similar examples quoted in Tobler-Lommatsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*. On the surface the phrase could hardly sound more trite and obvious, but in fact *bouter l'uis* is as much a stock expression in French romance as *tirling at the pin* is in Scots balladry.

glimpses of perennial human behaviour give to the poem a freshness and immediacy hard to match in medieval German literature, even in works of far greater literary pretensions, but apparent on almost every page of the roman de moeurs.

As an example of the story-teller's art the source of our poem must have been worthy of the stylistic traditions from which it sprang. And still, from the standpoint of sheer narrative technique, the most successful passages in the text as we possess it are those where the German poet has adhered closest to his original.

Two final questions remain to be considered. Firstly, was the streak of ridicule or satire which we have earlier had occasion to observe in certain episodes of the text already present in the French source? It is impossible to be categorical on the point, and the French literature of the Middle Ages does in fact contain many brilliant examples of parody, including skits on chivalric prowess and chivalric love, but on the whole it seems more likely that this is one of the traits contributed by the German poet. As far as we can tell neither the courtly fabliau nor the roman de moeurs was normally used as a vehicle for burlesque, being more concerned to portray knightly life than to lampoon it, and in this particular instance also the French poet, though he

may here and there have indulged a vein of light mockery now no longer distinguishable from the heavier irony of his German successor, seems to have taken his material quite straightforwardly at its face value.

Secondly, was the French poem intended to point a moral or convey a message? It may well be that the poet, in common with every serious author of his day, felt that the business of poetry was to afford profit as well as pleasure, that he tried to give his work a weight and meaning beyond that of simple entertainment, that his aim was to stimulate rather than divert the minds of his audience. We must also assume that he was consciously expounding a problem case in the sphere of courtly love. But he does not appear to have done so in any openly didactic spirit. The story seems to have been presented for its own interest, possibly even as a starting-point for graceful or witty debate among the hearers, rather than as an admonition or a warning.

The primary aim of the German poet, on the other hand, is indisputably to instruct and edify; in other words, his version is not only a <u>casus</u>, but an <u>exemplum</u>, a <u>bispel</u>. The underlying thought, that a disregard for the code of honour brings its own nemesis with it, is traced out first through the whole panorama of history and finally demonstrated by means of an instance drawn from contemporary life. In his

eyes this conception of guilt and retribution has the force of a moral law, and its proclaiming is a matter of such urgency to him that he cannot refrain from interposing his own voice to pass subjective judgement on his characters quite apart from the verdict implicit in the events he is relating. His Gesellschaftspädagogik, as it has been aptly termed, finds utterance in a steady flow of reflections, personal avowals, exhortations, moral tirades and social criticism. For him this aspect of his theme seems rather to overshadow the actual fable. His lingering side-glances at other topics, such as that of Troy, suggest that he was not wholly absorbed in his material. Nor does he give the impression of being really interested in the craft of story-telling as such. In the most undiluted narrative portions of the tale he is content to follow his source and let the action carry itself along under its own momentum. In the same way, although he cares passionately for the ideas which his hero and heroine embody, he does not seem to be at all deeply affected by their fate as human beings, and remains curiously aloof from them. His sense of composition, too, though by no means lacking - for as we have seen the structure of the poem has been carefully planned - is not that of the born narrator but that of the homilist. Words applied by one critic to the author of Meier Helmbrecht could with equal

truth be said of our poet: "Dass er kein ausgesprochener Epiker war, zeigt sich darin, wie er nach der vielgliedrigen Breite des Eingangs und der Gespräche ... das Werk in raschem Gange zu Ende führt".[1]

If we admit then that for him the story was less important in its own right than as a means to an end, the question immediately springs to the mind: what end? It is here that the duality of his approach becomes most palpable. The more closely we try to analyse his standpoint the more it becomes clear that he is being pulled in two different directions at once. And since, whoever he was, he must have been a man of strong individual likes and dislikes, unusually free from the leading-strings of fashionable opinion, and wrestling as honestly with his ideas as he wrestles with the refractory medium of rhymed verse, this division within his own mind is quite exceptionally revealing.

In effect it is the same division which, as we saw in an earlier chapter of this study, runs through the whole of chivalric culture - the painful and ineluctable cleavage between vision and reality, dream and fact.

There is no doubt that the ideals of chivalry command his unqualified assent. His thoughts constantly revert to

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1. S. Gutenbrunner, ZfdA. 85, 1954-55, p. 65.

the subject of honour, the varying shades of meaning which the word can bear and the different manifestations of the one principle in past time and present time, in men and women, in isolated individuals and in the community of nation or class. Furthermore, he begins his story by dwelling on the twofold honour of inward virtue and outward reputation vouchsafed to his hero (282ff., 400f.), and on the no less conspicuous worth of the lady (266ff.), thus, so it might appear, setting the stage for a model exposition of all that êre implied. Even more fervent is his belief in the principle of minne, which he exalts to the loftiest heights that his wholly profane outlook admits. He probes eagerly into the mysteries of love, its power over creation and its workings in the human heart, its rights and duties, its potency as an inspiration within the lover and within society as a whole.[1] And again, at the outset, he makes his hero appear as a paragon of the courtly lover, and his heroine as a Minnedame no more hard-hearted than convention demanded of her, so that we might be pardoned for expecting the action

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1. This intimate concern with the nature and psychology of courtly love is perhaps the main reason why our poet appears so much closer in spirit to, and so much more dependent on, Minnesang and theoretical analyses of love like Hartmann's Büchlein than the world of chivalric romance where his affinities might at first glance be thought to lie.

to unfold in accordance with the normal patterns of Minnedienst. In addition, he sees the twin forces of love and honour as operating in harmony to produce a series of secondary but equally praiseworthy ideals: a freedom from self-interest and material considerations, a generosity that counts no price too high for the object of its quest, a capacity for endurance that welcomes hardship and sacrifice in a noble cause, an energy that strains itself to the utmost to reach its goal.

These are the matters that engage the poet's deepest interest and his presentation of them, though inevitably coloured by the thought and language of the time, bears the unmistakable stamp of personal conviction. All those parts of the text where they bulk largest - the historical introduction, the discourse on love, the hero's soliloquy, the dialogues between the countess and the knight, or the countess and the waiting-woman, the final monologues of the countess - are the ones which, as we have seen, the German poet made peculiarly his own; and all of them, it will be noted, are cast in the form of spoken argument or abstract disquisition rather than epic narrative.

But he is not writing a moral treatise, he is writing a Novelle, and the moment his theme compels him to descend

from theory to application, from ideal postulates to people and events, the note of affirmation becomes less pronounced. He has to take up a standpoint on the shifting ground of actual experience rather than the firm basis of unassailable precept, and his footing is plainly a little insecure. The admiration is still there, but it is tempered with a certain reluctance and curiously mixed with other reactions that oscillate between misgiving, disapproval and ridicule.[1]

What the precise source of this hesitation may be we cannot tell for certain. It has evidently nothing to do with religious or ecclesiastical scruples, for his code of

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1. Many traces of a similar ambiguity of approach can be observed in Ulrich's Frauendienst. But the phenomenon was by no means new even in the thirteenth century. Gilbert Murray in his study Aristophanes (Oxford 1933) uses words that might, mutatis mutandis, apply equally well to our poet, when he writes on p. 107: "It is difficult for us and would have been difficult for Aristophanes himself, to say exactly what his feelings were towards Euripides and his poetry. He certainly was fascinated by it. It haunted his memory and imagination and he parodied it with a charm and skill which prove his enjoyment and understanding. At the same time he almost certainly disapproved of it, or at least felt officially bound to disapprove of it", and again on p.179: "Indeed Lysistrata herself, like the whole play, illustrates well that curious divided allegiance in the comedian's mind which we have noticed before. He cannot help admiring the thing he mocks at, or perhaps rather he selects for the object of his laughter the thing that secretly fascinates him".

values is a purely secular one. It may be tinged with national prejudice of that ambivalent kind so common in the history of Germany, which at one and the same time disparages a thing as an example of foreign frivolity and hankers after it as an example of foreign elegance. Or it may simply have been a failure of perception arising from the clash between two different temperaments that made the German poet try to adapt borrowed material to ends for which it was not inherently suited. But whatever the reasons for the disparity, the effects of it are undeniable.

A strange blend of attraction and repulsion seems to pervade his whole attitude towards the people and incidents he describes. It is never quite clear, for instance, how far he really approved of the tournament, in spite of its claims to represent the sum of chivalric aspiration; nor is it clear how far he intended the ghost scene, with the count's ensuing tumble out of bed, bruised shin and prolonged swoon, to be taken seriously. That he should see his heroine in a somewhat unfavourable light is natural enough, but not even with the figure of his hero is he altogether in sympathy. He may extol the idea of valour, but in practice Moris' tourneying exploits can appear now culpable, as when he insists on the tournament being continued after a man has been killed, now slightly absurd, as when he

unhorses opponents at a quite impossible rate, or breaks lances on a quite impossible scale. The poet may extol the idea of liberality, but in practice Moriz' displays of milte, for all their splendour, are sometimes made to verge on the needlessly and vaingloriously extravagant, as in the account of the ship, on the ludicrous, as in the scenes of largesse after the tournament, or even on the socially demoralizing, as in the description of the garsûne quarrelling over the debris of the ship. More than anything else the poet extols the idea of love, but the complete breakdown of the bond between the lovers, culminating in the dreadful travesty of their final embrace, shows how fragile even this can prove when exposed to the chill of heartlessness or the heat of resentment.

From the changing moods of his work we can therefore gain a reasonable amount of insight into the personality of the poet. But the details of his life and outward circumstances continue to elude us. We have not a single shred of external evidence to go on. We cannot give him a name. We may conclude from the original dialect of the poem, in so far as it is possible to reconstruct it, that he came somewhere from the middle Rhineland, either the Rhenish Palatinate or the most northerly part of Alsatia. The German placenames and touches of local colour such as those in 640f. and

688 also point to the Rhineland, though to territory rather further north than the native regions of the poet.

His social background and class remain obscure. We can discount at once the possibility that he was a cleric, though certain features of his style - his use of rhetorical devices such as antithesis (456f., 498, 1175, 1722), personification (113ff., 366ff.), and stichomythy (535ff.), his parade of rather pedestrian learning, his long set monologues and dialogues in the manner of the disputatio, his slightly pedantic tone - suggest that he may have passed through the schools. It is conceivable, though not on the whole very likely, that he was a townsman from one of the Rhenish cities.[1] Somehow the poem does not give the impression of being an urban product, and the spirit of it is equally far removed from the broad anti-chivalric satire of bourgeois farce and the lavish pro-chivalric enthusiasm of middle-class writers like Konrad von Würzburg.

We are thus forced back on one of two conclusions: either the author was a Rhenish knight, who may possibly have become acquainted with the story on the course of a tourneying expedition across the border into the marches of

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1. This, at any rate up till recently, was the view held by Professor R. Kienast.

France, and whose interest was caught by it for its own sake, or because it seemed to him to exemplify problems of knighthood that were occupying his own thoughts; or he was a Spielmann, or perhaps a clerk or meister attached to the person of such a knight, from whose hands the work was commissioned by his patron. Which of these alternatives is correct we have no means of knowing. Some aspects of the poem, such as the subjectivity of the opinions expressed and the sense of urgent personal concern with the issues at stake, imply that the author is writing under his own volition; others, such as the lack of full sympathy with the material, the lingering over other more congenial themes, the apology at the end for not having executed the task more worthily, seem to indicate that he was working to order. In the same way, the familiarity with chivalric life apparent throughout the poem, the free critical outlook, even the occasional amateurish awkwardness of poetic technique, are all consistent with the theory of knightly authorship; while on the other hand the didactic earnestness, the homely imagery (als...ein schiuwer 806, als ein bal 1025, als ein tôtez schâf 1277, als ein alp 1418), and the use of proverbial tags such as in das mer ein slac (357), or the adages of the net in 1347f. and of the two thieves in 350ff, recall the humbler style of the professional Spielmann or Spruchdichter.

The whole question goes to show yet once again how illusory are those hard and fast distinctions between knightly and non-knightly writers that once used to be accepted as axiomatic for medieval German literature. When even the productions of an outstanding genius like Walther von der Vogelweide show the mentality of the knight and the mentality of the superior Spielmann merging imperceptibly into one another, so that it is impossible to label him conclusively as a representative of this or that type, it is still more hopeless to try to disentangle the two in the case of a minor poet like the author of Moriz von Craûn.

Lastly there remains to be considered the problem of date, in some ways the most controversial of all, for with an isolated monument, derived from a lost source and preserved in a single late MS., we have no means of establishing any points of comparison. And the puzzle is made even more baffling by the fact that here, as with every other aspect of the text, Moriz von Craûn seems to be looking in two opposite directions simultaneously. At the very beginning of the present study it was remarked how sharply divided opinion has been on this question, some scholars assigning the work to the last quarter of the twelfth century, others placing it well on into the first quarter of the thirteenth, an unusually wide range of disagreement when

one remembers the extraordinary speed and concentration of literary developments in Germany during the decade on each side of the turn of the century.

Those who claim a twelfth-century origin for the poem have much that can be said in support of their view. There is undoubtedly an archaic flavour about the historical introduction, with its dependence on pre-chivalric works like the Annolied, the Rolandslied, and the Kaiserchronik, and its omission of any reference to Arthurian legend. The affinities which we have shown to exist between Moriz von Craûn and the Eneide of Heinrich von Veldeke (the only contemporary author whom the poet mentions by name), the lyrics of the first generation of Minnesänger, and the early works of Hartmann von Aue, might similarly be taken to indicate that the text belongs to the beginning rather than the end of the peak period of chivalric literature in Germany. The lack of stylistic polish, the frequent clumsiness and obscurity of thought and expression, the relatively few Romance loan-words employed and the presence of "uncourtly" words from the vocabulary of the heroic epic are further points that have been adduced at various times in favour of an early date.

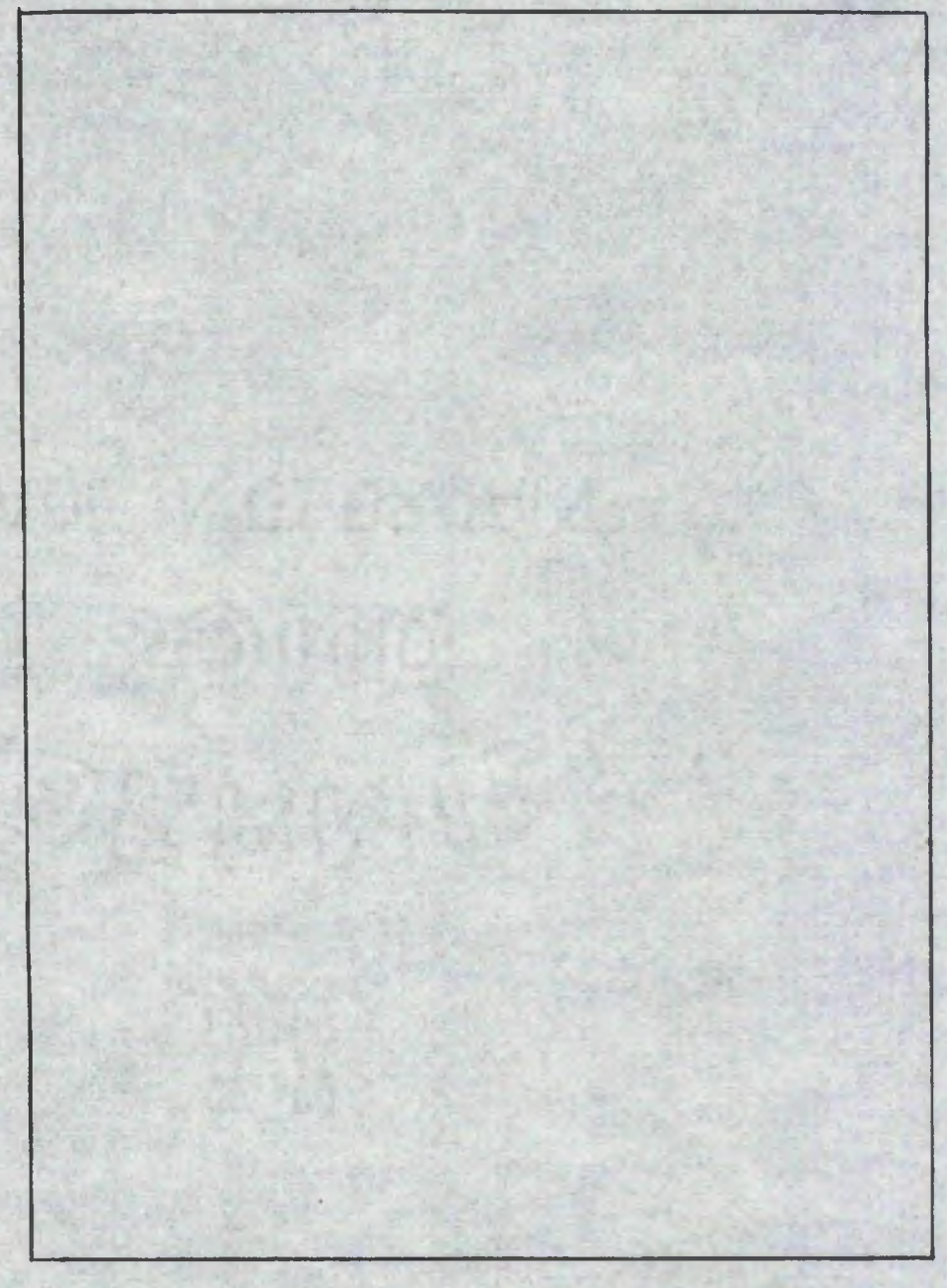
Nevertheless the writer is inclined to believe that an even more convincing body of evidence can be assembled on the other side. That our poet should owe no visible debt to the great masterpieces of courtly romance is scarcely surprising in a man who, as we have seen, went very much his own way and stood essentially apart from the main literary currents of the age. As an experiment in the Novelle form, Moriz von Craûn does not hark back to any pre-chivalric traditions of verse narrative; on the contrary it anticipates the emergence of a genre which was to become increasingly fashionable as the thirteenth century advanced. Its connexions with early Minnesang are matched by yet more revealing analogies with the work of later Minnesänger like Winli, Hartmann von Starkenberg, Tannhäuser and above all Ulrich von Lichtenstein. The old warlike expressions are offset by phrases from the established jargon of courtly love, like frouwe künegîn (544), gesellicliche minne (594), kumber doln (1652). There are even hints that courtly love is already on the wane if the poet's strictures against venal love are, as seems most likely, directed against Niedere Minne. In addition to these concrete factors, there is an indefinable atmosphere about the poem that one can only describe as "post-classical". Its ambiguity, its touch of disillusion,

the half-serious half-satirical mood which might almost be termed a species of romantic irony: all these are symptoms of a cultural movement that is past its zenith if not yet fallen into decadence. Moreover a twelfth-century date for our text would push the date of the French source correspondingly far back in time, making it nearly as abnormal for its period as Moriz von Craûn itself.

We are therefore on all counts probably justified in placing the French source some time during the opening decade of the thirteenth century and the German poem round about 1220-1230, certainly not earlier than Schroeder's proposed date of 1215.

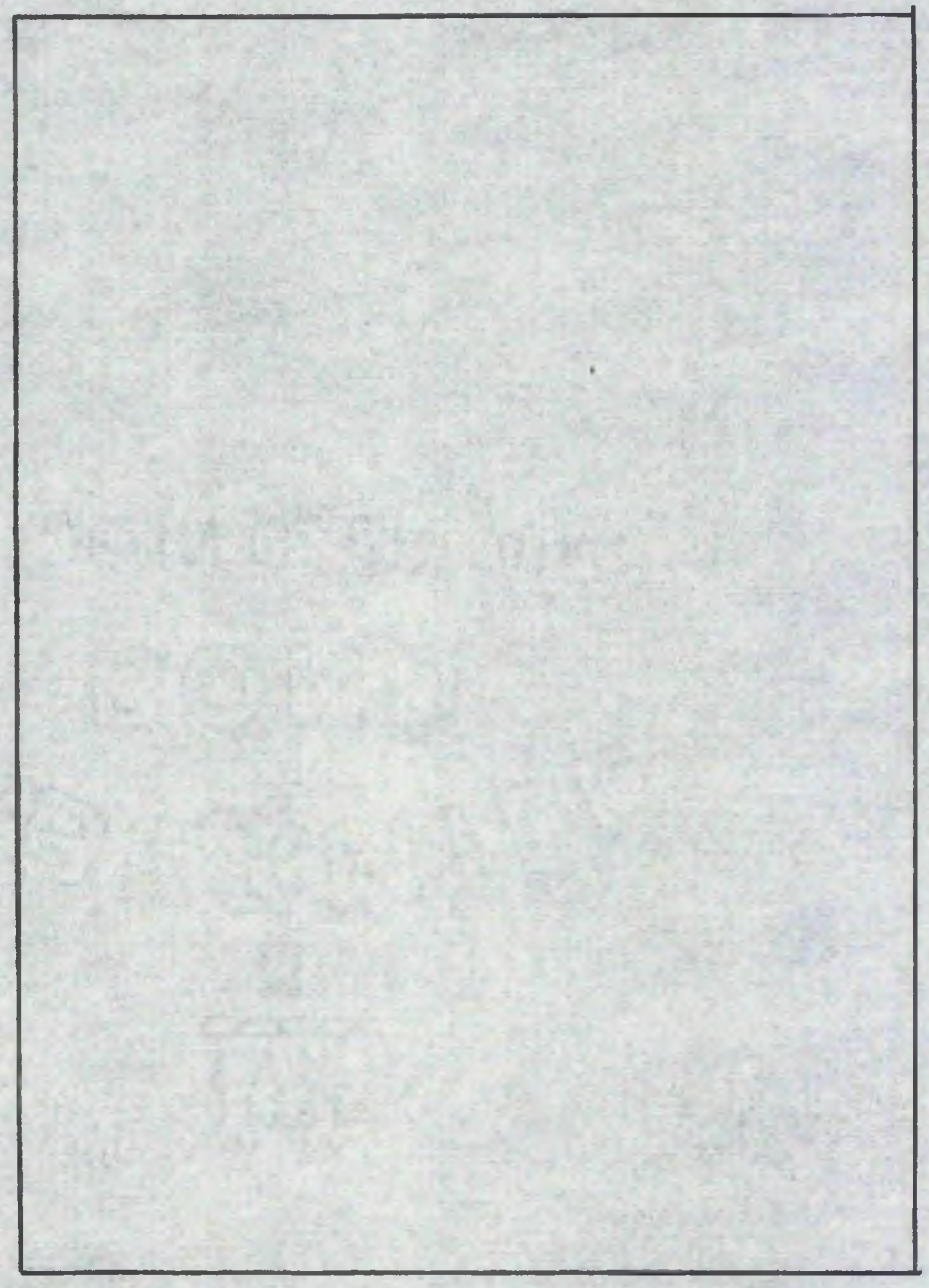
Yet it is doubtful how far all this contextualism, though valuable as preliminary spadework, really penetrates to the heart of the matter. The task of the student of literature may be to ascertain what the author intended his creation to be and do, and leave it at that. But for the responsive reader the work is a personal discovery, important in itself quite apart from its original inspiration and purpose. Indeed a knowledge of the writer's aims is by no means vital to an appreciation of his work. We know nothing about the intentions of Catullus or Villon, we know

a good deal about those of Mallarmé or Rilke. I doubt whether this makes much difference to any permanent valuation of their poetry. In the same way our poem carries implications beyond anything of which the author could be aware, and this, its significance for the modern reader, is the fourth and last "face" of Moriz von Craûn. Admittedly there is a discrepancy between the poet's object and what from our point of view he has achieved. He intended a sermon, a moral example, a plea for the ideals of honour and courtly love. The sermon miscarried, the message went unheard. But what he has done, without meaning to or being conscious of it, is to bequeath to posterity one of its most vivid and enthralling pictures of chivalric reality.



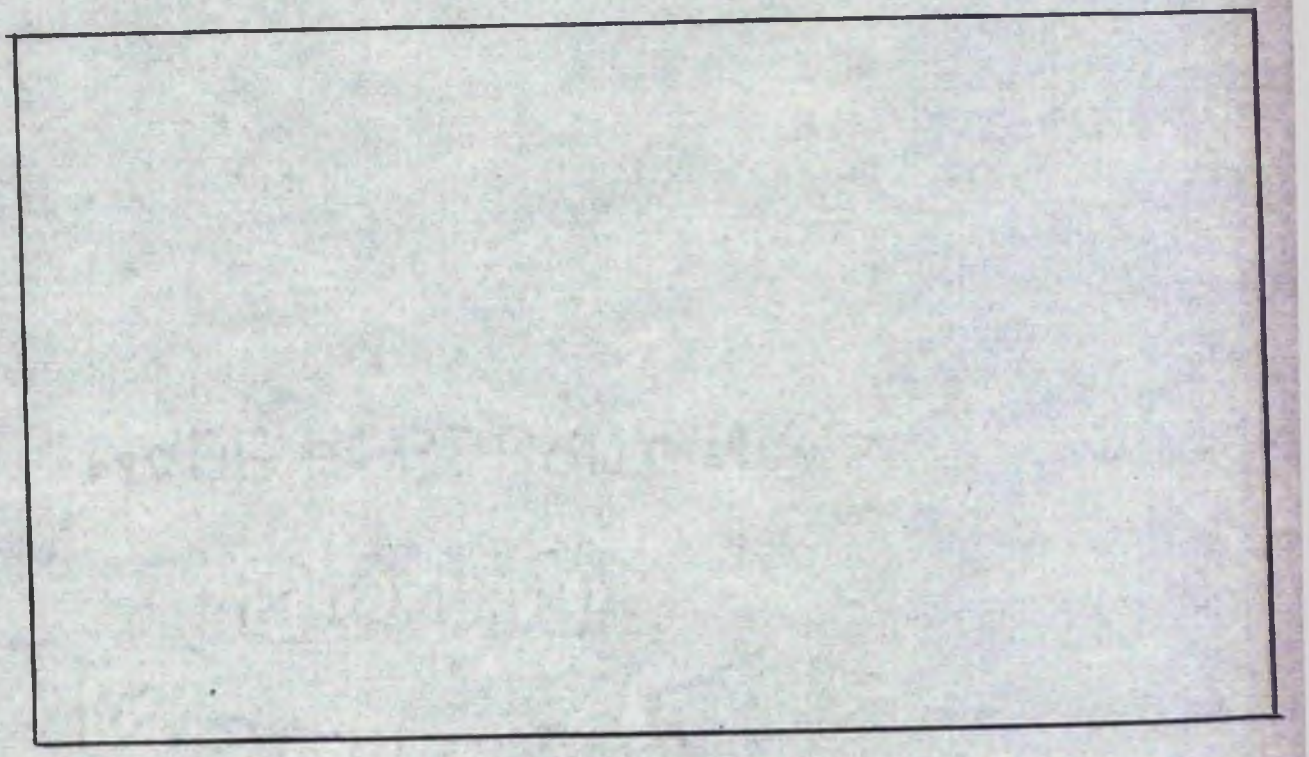
Winli

Portrait miniature from the Manesse Codex (fol. 231^{b}).



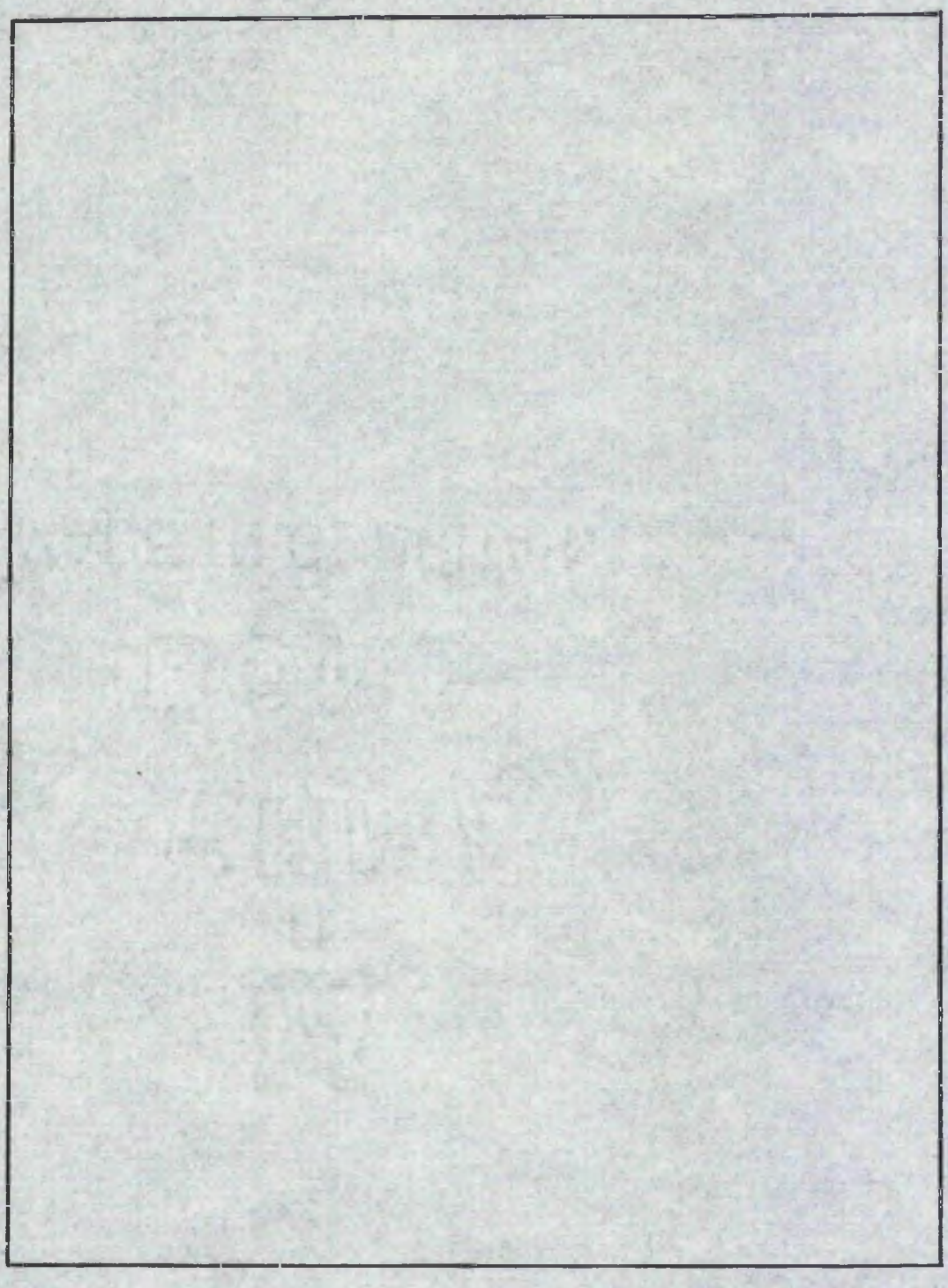
Herzog Heinrich von Breslau

Portrait miniature from the Manesse Codex (fol. 11^{v}).



Devils at a tournament

Miniature from Maître Enguerrand's Bréviaire d'amour (British Museum MS. Royal 19.C.i., fol. 204').



The funerary ship-car of Charles V.

From an engraving in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

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I. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Class.fr.d.m.a. = Classiques français du moyen âge

Frd. = Ulrich von Lichtenstein's Frauendienst

GA. = V. d. Hagen, Gesamtabenteuer

MF. = Vogt-v.Kraus, Des Minnesangs Frühling

MGH.SS. = Monumenta Germaniae Historica-Scriptores

MR. = Montaiglon-Raynaud, Recueil des fabliaux

MvC. = Moriz von Craûn

PBB. = Paul-Braune, Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur

PMLA. = Publications of the Modern Language Association of America

RP. = Bartsch, Romanzen und Pastourellen

SATF. = Société des anciens textes français

ZfdA. = Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur

ZfdPh. = Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie

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